

SOME  
LETTERS

CONTAINING

An account of what seemed most remarkable in  
*Switzerland, Italy, &c.*

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Written by

G. BURNET, D. D. to T. H. R. B.

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LETTERS

TO THE

MEMBERS OF THE

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION

OF THE HISTORY OF THE

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*Zurich, the first of September, 1685.*

S I R,

**I**T is so common to write travels, that for one who has seen so little and as it were in haste, it may look like a presumptuous affectation to be reckoned among Voyagers, if he attempts to say any thing upon so short a ramble, and concerning places so much visited and by consequence so well known: yet having had opportunities that doe not offer themselves to all that travel, and having joined to those a Curiosity almost equal to the advantages I enjoyed, I fancy it will not be an ingratefull entertainment if I give you some account of those things that pleased me most in the places through which I have passed: but I will avoid saying such things as occur in ordinary Books, for which I refer you to the Prints, for as you know that I have no great inclination to Copy what others have said; so a Traveller has not leisure nor humour enough for so dull an employment.

As I came all the way from *Paris* to *Lions*, I was amazed to see so much misery appeared, not one-

ly in Villages, but even in big Towns, where all the marks of an extream poverty, showed themselves both in the Buildings, the Cloaths, and almost in the looks of the Inhabitants. And a general dispeopling in all the Towns, was a very visible effect of the hardships under which they lay.

I need tell you nothing of the irregular and yet magnificent situation of *Lions*, of the noble Rivers that meet there, of the Rock cut from so vast a height for a Prison, of the *Carthusians* Gardens, of the Town-house, of the Jesuits College and Library, of the famous Nunnery of *St Peter*, of the Churches, particularly *St. Ireneus*, of the remnants of the Aqueducts, of the Columns and the Old *Mosaick* in the *Abby Dene*. In short, *Mr. Spon* has given such an account of the Curiosities there, that it were a very presumptuous attempt to offer to come after him.

The speech of *Claudius* engraven on a Plate of Brass, and set in the end of the low walk in the Town-house, is one of the noblest antiquities in the World, by which we see the way of writing and pointing in that age very copiously. The shield of Silver of two and twenty pound weight in which some remains of gilding do yet appear, and that seems to represent that generous action of *Scipio's*, of restoring a fair captive to a *Celtiberian* Prince, is certainly the noblest piece of Plate that is now extant, the embossing of it is so fine and so entire, that it is indeed invaluable: and if there were an inscription upon it to put us beyond conjecture it were yet much more inestimable.

A great many inscriptions are to be seen of the late and Barbarous Ages, as *Bonum Memorium*, and *Epitaphium hunc*: there are twenty three inscriptions in the Garden of the Fathers of *mercy*, but so placed as it shews how little those who possess them doe either understand or value them. I shall onely give you

you one because I made a little reflection on it, though it is not perhaps too well grounded; because none of the Criticks have thought on it.

The inscription is this, *D. M. Et Memoriae Aeternae Sutiae Anthidis. Quae vixit Annis XXV. M. XI. DV. Quae dum Nimia pia fuit facta est Impia: Et Attio Probatolo, Cecalio Calistio Conjux Et Pater, Et sibi vivo ponendum curavit Et sub ascia dedicavit.* This must be towards the barbarous Age, as appears by the false Latin in *Nimia*: But the inscription seems so extravagant, that a Man dedicating a Burial-stone for his Wife and Son, and under which himself was to be laid, with Ceremonies of Religion, should tax his Wife of impiety, and give so extraordinary an account of her becoming so through an excess of piety, that it deserves some consideration.

It seems the impiety was publick, otherwise a Husband would not have recorded it in such a manner, and it is plain that he thought it rose from an excess of piety.

I need not examine the conjectures of others, but will chuse rather to give you my own, and submit it to your censure.

It seems to me that this *Sutia Anthis* was a Christian, for the Christians because they would not worship the Gods of the Heathens, nor participate with them in their sacred rites, were accused both of Atheism and Impiety. This is so often objected, and the Fathers in their Apologies have answered it so often, that it were lost labour to prove it: so this Wife of *Cecalius Calistio* having turned Christian, it seems he thought he was bound to take some notice of it in the inscription: But by it he gives an honourable character of the Christian Doctrine at the same time that he seems to accuse it; that through an excess of piety his Wife was carried to it: since a mind seriously possessed with a true sense of piety could not avoid the fal-

ling under a distaste of Paganism, and the becoming Christian.

At *Grenoble* there is not much to be seen, the learned Mr. *Chorier* has some Manuscripts of considerable antiquity. In one of *Vegetius de re Militari*, there is a clear correction of a passage that in all the printed Editions is not sense. In the Chapter of the size of the Souldiers he begins : *Scio semper mensuram à Mario Consule exactam* : à is in no MS. and *Mario Consule* is a mistake for *trium Cubitorum*, for III which are for *trium* have been read M. and C. which stands for *Cubitorum*, as appears by all that follows, was by a mistake read *Consule* ; so the true reading of that passage is : *Scio mensuram trium Cubitorum fuisse semper exactam*. He shewed me another MS. of about five or six hundred years old, in which *St. John's Revelation* is contained all exemplified in Figures, and after that comes *Æsop's Fables*, likewise all designed in Figures, from which he inferred that those who designed those two Books, valued both equally and so put them together.

I will not describe the Valley of *Dauphine*, all to *Chambery*, nor entertain you with a Land-skip of the Countrey, which deserves a better pencil than mine, and in which the height and rudeness of the Mountains that almost shut upon it together, with the beauty, the evenness and fruitfulness of the Valley, that is all along well watered with the River of *Lisère*, make such an agreeable mixture that this vast diversity of objects that doe at once fill the Eye, gives it a very entertaining prospect.

*Chambery* has nothing in it that deserves a long description, and *Geneva*, is too well known to be much insisted on. It is a little state, but it has so many good constitutions in it that the greatest may justly learn at it. The Chamber of the Corn has always two years provision for the City in store, and forces

none

none but the Bakers to buy of it at a taxed price, and so it is both necessary for any extremities, under which the state may fall, and is likewise of great advantage, for it gives a good yearly income, that has helped the State to pay near a Million of debts contracted during the Wars, and the Citizens are not oppressed by it, for every Inhabitant may buy his own Corn as he pleases, onely Publick Houses must buy from the Chamber. And if one will compare the faith of *Rome* and *Geneva* together by this particular, he will be forced to prefer the latter, for if good works are a strong presumption, if not a sure indication of a good faith, then justice, being a good work of the first form, *Geneva* will certainly carry it.

At *Rome* the Pope buys in all the Corn of the Patrimony, for none of the Landlords can sell it either to Merchants or Bakers. He buys it at five Crowns their measure, and even that is slowly and ill payed, so that there was 800000 Crowns owing upon that score when I was at *Rome*. In selling this out, the measure is lessened a fifth part, and the price of the whole is doubled, so that what was bought at five Crowns is sold out at twelve: and if the Bakers who are obliged to take a determined quantity of Corn from the Chamber, cannot retail out all that is imposed upon them, but are forced to return some part of it back, the Chamber discounts to them onely the first price of five Crowns: whereas in *Geneva* the measure by which they buy and sell is the same, and the gain is so inconsiderable that it is very little beyond the common Market price, so that upon the whole matter the Chamber of the Corn is but the Marchant to the State. But if the publick makes a moderate gain by the Corn, that and all the other revenues of this small Common-wealth are so well employed, that there is no cause of complaint given in the Administration of the publick Purse: which with the advanta-

ges that arise out of the Chamber of the Corn, is about 100000 Crowns revenue. But there is much to go out of this ; 300 Souldiers are payed, an *Arsenal* is maintained, that in proportion to the State is the greatest in the World, for it contains Arms for more men than are in the State : there is a great number of Ministers and Professors, in all 24, payed out of it besides all the publick charges and offices of the Government. Every one of the lesser Council of 25 having 100 Crowns, and every *Syndic* having 200 Crowns pension : and after all this come the accidental charges of the Deputies, that they are obliged to send often to *Paris*, to *Savoy* and to *Switzerland*, so that it is very apparent no man can enrich himself at the Cost of the Publick. And the appointments of the little Council are a very small recompence for the great attendance that they are obliged to give the Publick, which is commonly four or five hours a day. The Salary for the Professors and Ministers is indeed small, not above two hundred Crowns, but to balance this, which was a more competent provision when it was first set off 150 years agoe, the price of all things, and the way of living being now much heightened, those employments are here held in their due reputation, and the richest Citizens in the Town breed up their Children so as to qualifie them for those places. And a Minister that is suitable to his Character is thought so good a match, that generally they have such Estates either by succession or marriage as support them suitably to the rank they hold. And in *Geneva* there is so great a regulation upon expences of all sorts, that a small summe goes a great way. It is a surprizing thing to see so much learning as one finds in *Geneva*, not onely among those whose profession obliges them to Study, but among the Magistrates and Citizens, and if there are not many men of the first form of learning among them, yet every body

dy almost here has a good tincture of a learned education, insomuch that they are Masters of the Latin, they know the Controversies of Religion and History, and they are generally men of good sense.

There is an universal Civility, not only towards strangers, but towards one another, that reigns all the Town over, and leans to an excess: so that in them one sees a mixture of a *French* openness, and an *Italian* exactness: there is indeed a little too much of the last.

The publick Justice of the City is quick and good, and is more commended than the private Justice of those that deal in Trade: a want of sincerity is much lamented by those that know the Town well. There is no publick luteness tollerated, and the disorders of that sort are managed with great address. And notwithstanding their neighbourhood to the *Switzers*, drinking is very little known among them. One of the best parts of their Law is the way of selling Estates, which is likewise practised in *Switzerland*, and is called *Subbastation*, from the *Roman* Custome of selling *Sub hasta*. A man that is to buy an Estate agrees with the owner, and then intimates it to the Government; who order three or several Proclamations to be made six Weeks one after another, of the intended Sale, that is to be on such a day: when the day comes, the Creditors of the seller, if they apprehend that the Estate is sold at an under value may outbid the buyer; but if they do not interpose, the buyer delivers the money to the State, which upon that gives him his title to the Estate, which can never be so much as brought under a debate in Law, and the price is paid into the State, and is by them given either to the Debtors of the seller, if he owes money, or to the seller himself.

This custome prevails likewise in *Swisse*, where also twelve years possession gives a prescription, so that in no place of the world are the titles to Estates,

so secure as here. The constitution of the Government is the same both in *Geneva*, and in most of the *Cantons*. The Sovereignty lies in the Council of 200, and this Council chuses out of its number 25, who are the lesser Council; and the censure of the 25 belongs to the great Council, they are chosen by a sort of Ballot, so that it is not known for whom they give their votes, which is an effectual method to suppress Factions and Resentments; since in a Competition no man can know who voted for him or against him: yet the election is not so 'carried, but that the whole Town is in an intrigue concerning it: for since the being of the little Council leads one to the *Sindicar*, which is the chief honour of the State; this dignity is courted here, with as active and solicitous an ambition as appears elsewhere for greater matters. The 200 are chosen and censured by the 25, so that these two Councils, which are both for life, are checks one upon another. The Magistracy is in the one, and the Sovereignty in the other. The number of 25 is never exceeded in the lesser Council, but for the greater, though it passes by the name of the Council of 200, yet there are commonly 8 or 10 more, so that notwithstanding the absence or sickness of some of the number they may still be able to call together near the full number. There is another Council besides these two, composed of 60 consisting of those of the 200 that have born offices, such as Auditors, Attorney-Generals, or those that have been in other employments, which are given for a determinate number of years: this Court has no authority, but is called together by the 25, when any extraordinary occasion makes it adviseable for them to call for a more general concurrence, in the resolutions that they are about to form. And this Council is of the nature of a Council of State, that onely gives advice but has no power in it self to enforce its advices. The whole body,



dy of the Burgesſes chuſe the *Sindics* the firſt *Sunday* of the year, and there are ſome other elections that doe likewise belong to them. The difference between the Burgesſes and Citizens is, that the former degree may be bought or given to ſtrangers, and they are capable to be of the 200, but none is a Citizen but he that is the Son of a Burgeſs, and that is born within the Town.

I need ſay no more of the conſtitution of this little Republick, its chief ſupport is in the firm alliance that has ſtood now ſo long between it and the *Cantons* of *Bern* and *Zurich*, and it is ſo viſibly the intereſt of all *Switzerland* to preſerve it as the Key, by which it may be all laid open, that if the *Cantons* had not forgotten their intereſt ſo palpably in ſuffering the *French* to become Matters of the *Franche Counte*, one would think that they would not be capable of ſuffering *Geneva* to be toucht: For all that can be done in fortifying the Town, can ſignifie no more, but to put it in caſe to reſiſt a ſurprize or ſcalade: ſince if a Royal Army comes againſt it to beſiege it in form, it is certain, that unleſs the *Switzers* come down with a force able to raiſe the ſiege, thoſe within will be able to make a very ſhort reſiſtance.

From *Geneva* I went through the Countrey of *Vaud* or the Valley, and *Laufan* its chief Town in my way to *Bern*. The Town of *Laufan* is ſituated on three Hills, ſo that the whole Town is aſcent and deſcent, and that very ſteep, chiefly on the ſide on which the Church ſtands, which is a very noble Fabrick. The South-wall of the Croſs was ſo ſplit by an Earthquake about 30 years ago, that there was a rent made from top to bottom above a foot wide: Which was ſo cloſed up ten years after by another Earthquake, that now one onely ſees where the breach was. This extravagant ſituation of the Town was occaſioned by a Legend of ſome miracles wrought near the Church: which.

which prevailed so much of the credulity of that age, that by it the Church, and so in consequence the buildings near it were added to the old Town, which stood on the other Hill, where there was a Town made on the High-way from the Lake into *Switzerland*, to which the chief privileges of the Town, particularly the judicature of life and death, do still belong. Between *Geneva* and this lies the Lake, which at the one end is called the Lake of *Geneva*, and at the other the Lake of *Lausanne*. I need not mention the dimensions of it which are so well known, onely in some places the depth has never been found; for it is more than 300 fathom, the banks of the Lake are the beautifullest plats of ground that can be imagined, for they look as if they had been laid by art, the sloping is so easie and so equal, and the grounds are so well cultivated and peopled, that a more delighting prospect cannot be seen any where; the Lake is well stockt with excellent Fish: But their numbers do sensibly decrease, and one sort is quite lost; it is not onely to be ascribed to the ravenousness of the Pikes that abound in it, but to another sort of Fish that they call Moutails, which were never taken in the Lake till within these six years last past; they are in the Lake of *Neuf-chastel*, and some of the other Lakes of *Switzerland*, and it is likely that by some conveyance underground they may have come into Channels that fall into this Lake: the Water of the Lake is all clear and fresh. It is not onely a great Pond made by the *Rhosh* that runs into it, but does not pass through it unmixt, as some Travellers have fondly imagined, because sometimes a soft Gale makes a curling of the Waters in some places, which runs smooth in the places over which that soft breath of Wind does not pass, the Gale varying its place often. But it is believed that there are also many great Fountains all over the Lake, these Springs do very probably flow from some

some vast cavities that are in the neighbouring Mountains, which are as great Cisterns that discharge themselves in the Valleys which are covered over with Lakes. And on the two sides of the Alpes both North and South, there is so great number of those little Seas, that it may be easily guessed they must have vast sources that feed so constantly those huge Ponds. And when one considers the height of those Hills, the chain of so many of them together, and their extent both in length and breadth ; if at first he thinks of the old Fables of laying one Hill upon the top of another, he will be afterwards apt to imagine according to the ingenious conjecture of one that travelled over them oftner than once, that these cannot be the primary productions of the Authour of nature, but are the vast ruines of the first World, which at the deluge broke here into so many inequalities.

One Hill not far from *Geneva*, called *Mandis* or *Cursed*, of which one third is always covered with Snow, is 2 miles of Perpendicular height, according to the observation of that incomparable Mathematician and Philosopher *Nicolas Fatio Duilier*, who at 22 years of Age is already one of the greatest men of his Age, and seems to be born to carry learning some sizes beyond what it has yet attained.

But now I will entertain you a little with the State of *Bern*, for that Canton alone is above a third part of all *Switzerland*. I will say nothing of its beginnings nor History : nor will I enlarge upon the Constitution which are all well known. It has a Council of 200 that goes by that name though it consists almost of 300, and another of 25 as *Geneva*. The chief Magistrates are two Advoyers who are not annual as the *Sindics* of *Geneva*, but are for life ; and have an authority not unlike that of the *Roman Consuls*, each being his year by turns the Advoyer in office. After them there are the 4 *Bannerets*, who answer to the  
Tribune

Tribunes of the People in *Rome* : Then come the two Bursars or Treasurers, one for the ancient *German* Territory, the other for the *French* Territory or the Countrey of *Vaud*, and the two last chosen of the 25 are called the Secrets ; for to them all secrets relating to the State are discovered : And they have an authority of calling the 200 together when they think fit, and of accusing those of the Magistracy, the Advoyers themselves not excepted, as they see cause : Though this falls out seldom.

There are 72 Bailiages into which the whole Canton of *Bern* is divided, and in every one of those there is a Bailif named by the Council of 200, who must be a Citizen of *Bern* and one of the 200, to which Council no man can be chosen till he is married : These Bailiages are employments both of honour and profit ; For the Bailif is the Governour and Judge in that Jurisdiction : Since though he has some Assessours who are chosen out of the Bailiage, yet he may by his authority carry matters which way he will, against all their opinions, and the Bailifs have all the confiscations and fines, so that drinking being so common in the Countrey, and that producing many quarrels, the Bailiff makes his advantage of all those disorders : And in the six years of his Government according to the quality of his Bailiage he not onely lives by it, but will carry perhaps 20000 Crowns with him back to *Bern* : On which he lives till he can carry another Bailiage : For one is capable of being twice Bailiff, but though some have been thrice Bailiffs, this is very extraordinary. The Exactions of the Bailif are the onely impositions or charges to which the Inhabitants are subjected, and these falling onely on the irregularities and disorders of the more debauched, makes this grievance, though in some particular cases it presses hard, yet is not so universally felt : For a sober and regular man is in no danger. Many in this Cantons are as in *England*.  
Lords.

Lords of Castles and Mannors, and have a Jurisdiction annexed to their Estates and name their Magistrate, who is called the Castellan. In matters of small consequence there lies no appeal from him to the Bailiff, but beyond the value of two Pistols an appeal lies, and no sentence of death is executed till it is confirmed at *Bern*. There lies also an appeal from the Bailiff to the Council at *Bern*. There are many complaints of the injustice of the Bailiffs; But their law is short and clear, so that a suit is soon ended, two or three hearings is the most that even an intricate suit amounts to, either in the first instance before the Bailiff, or in the second Judgment at *Bern*. The Citizens of *Bern* consider these Bailiages as their inheritance, and they are courted in this State perhaps with as much intrigue as was ever used among the *Romans* in the distribution of their Provinces: And so little signifie the best Regulations when there are intrinsick diseases in a state, that though there is all possible precaution used in the nomination of these Bailiffs, yet that has not preserved this state from falling under so great a mischief by those little Provinces; that as it has already in a great measure corrupted their morals, so it may likely turn in conclusion to the ruine of this Republick. All the Electours give their voices by Ballot, so that they are free from all after gain in the nomination of the person: All the kindred of the pretenders even to the remotest degrees are excluded from voting, as are also all their Creditors, so that none can vote but those who seem to have no interest in the issue of the Competition; and yet there is so much intrigue and so great a corruption in the distribution of these employments, that the whole business in which all *Bern* is ever in motion is the catching of the best Bailiages, on which a family will have its eye for many years before they fall, for the Counsellors of *Bern* give a very small share of their Estates to their Children when they marry.

marry them : all that they propose is to make a Baillage sure to them : for this they feast and drink, and spare nothing by which they may make sure a sufficient number of votes ; but it is the Chamber of the *Bannerets* that admits the pretenders to the Competition. When the Bailiff is chosen, he takes all possible methods to make the best of it he can, and lets few Crimes pass, that carry either confiscations or fines after them, his justice also is generally suspected. It is true, those of the Baillage may complain to the Council at *Bern*, as the oppressed Provinces did anciently to the Senate of *Rome*, and there have been severe judgments against some more exorbitant Bailiffs, yet as complaints are not made, except upon great occasions, which are not often given by the Bailiffs, so it being the general interest of the Citizens of *Bern* to make all possible advantages of those employments, the censure will be but gentle, except the complaint is crying.

In *Bern* there is very little Trade, only what is necessary for the support of the Town. They maintain Professours in the Universities of *Bern* and *Lausanne*, the one for the *German* Territory which is the ancient *Canton*, and the other for the new Conquest which is the *French* : In the former there are about three hundred Parishes, in the other there are but about one hundred and fifty : But in the benefices of the *German* side the ancient rights of the incumbents are generally preserved, so that some benefices are worth one thousand Crowns : Whereas in the *pais des Vaud* the provisions are set off as salaries, and are generally from one hundred to two hundred Crowns : It is visible that those of *Bern* trust more to the affections and fidelity of their subjects, than to the strength of their Walls ; for as they have never finished them, so what is built cannot be brought to a regular fortification, and it is not preserved with any care nor  
fixe.

furnished with Canon; but if they have none on their Ramparts, they have good store in their Arsenal, in which they say there are Arms for 40000 Men.

The *Peasants* are generally rich, chiefly in the *German* side, and are all well armed, they pay no duties to the publick, and the soil is capable of great cultivation, in which some succeed so well that I was shewed some that were by accident at *Bern*, who as I was told had of Estate to the value of 100000 Crowns, but that is not ordinary, yet 10000 Crowns for a *Peasant* is no extraordinary matter: They live much on their Milk and Corn, which in some places as about *Payern*, yields an encrease of fifteen measures after one, they breed many Horses, which bring them in a great deal of money. The worst thing in the Countrey is the moisture of the Air, which is not onely occasioned by the many Lakes that are in it, and the neighbouring Mountains that are covered with Snow, some all the Summer long, and the rest till Mid-summer: But by the vast quantity of Woods of Firr-trees, which seem to fill very near the half of their soil, and if these were for the most part rooted out, as they would have much more soil, so their Air would be much purer, yet till they find either Coal or Turf for their fuel this cannot be done. I was told that they had found Coal in some places: If the Coal is conveniently situated, so that by their Lakes and Rivers it can be easily carried over the Countrey, it may save them a great extent of ground, that as it is covered with Wood, so the Air becomes thereby the more unwholsome.

They have some Fountains of Salt-water, but the making Salt consumes so much Wood, that hitherto it has not turn'd to any account.

The Men are generally sincere but heavy, they think it necessary to correct the moisture of the Air with liberal entertainments, and they are well furnished  
with

with all necessary ingredients; for as their soil produces good Cartel, so their Lakes abound in Fish, and their Woods in Fowl, the Wine is also light and good. The Women are generally imployed in their domestic affairs, and the Wives even of the chief Magistrates of *Bern*, look into all the concerns of the House and Kitchen, as much as the Wives of the meanest *Peasants*. Men and Women do not converse promiscuously together, and the Women are so much amused with the management at home, and enter so little into intrigues, that among them, as an eminent Physician there told me, they know not what vapours are, which he imputed to the idleness and the intrigues that abound elsewhere, whereas he said, among them the Blood was cleansed by their labour, and as that made them sleep well, so they did not amuse themselves with much thinking, nor did they know what Amours were: The third Adultery is punished with death, which is also the punishment of the fifth act of Fornication; of which I saw an instance while I was in *Bern*: For a Woman who confessed her self guilty of many Whoredoms, and designed to be revenged on some Men, that did not furnish her liberally with money, was upon that condemned and executed; the manner was solemn, for the Advoyer comes into an open Bench in the middle of the Street, and for the satisfaction of the people, the whole process was read and sentence was pronounced in the hearing of all: The Councillours both of the great and lesser Council standing about the Advoyer, who after sentence took the criminal very gently by the hand, and prayed for her Soul, and after execution there was a Sermon for the instruction of the people.

The whole State is disposed for War, for every man that can bear Armes is listed, and knows his post and armes, and there are Beacons so laid over the Coun-



Countrey, that the signal can run over the whole Canton in a night : And their military lifts are so laid, that every man knows whether he is to come out upon the first or second, or not till the general summons. They assured me at *Bern*, that upon a general summons they could bring above 80000 Men together. The Men are robust and strong, and capable of great hardihip, and of good Discipline, and have generally an extreme sense of liberty, and a great love to their Countrey ; but they labour under a want of Officers. And though the subjects of the State are rich, yet the publick is poor, they can well resist a sudden Invasion of their Countrey ; but they would soon grow weary of a long War, and the soil requires so much cultivation, that they could not spare from their labour the Men that would be necessary to preserve their Countrey : They were indeed as happy as a people could be, when the Emperour had *Alsace* on the one hand, and the *Spaniards* had the *Franche Comté* on the other, they had no reason to fear their Neighbours ; but now that both those Provinces are in the hands of the *French*, the case is quite altered, for as *Basil* is every moment in danger from the Garrison of *Hunningen*, that is but a Canon shot distant from it, so all the *Pais de Vaud* lies open to the *Franche Comté*, and has neither fortified places, nor good passes to secure it, so that their error in suffering this to fall into the hands of the *French* was so gross, that I took some pains to be informed concerning it, and will here give you this account, that I had from one who was then in a very eminent post, so that as he certainly knew the secret, he seemed to speak sincerely to me. He told me that the Duke of *Lorrain* had often moved in the Councils of War, that the Invasion of *France* ought to be made on that side, in which *France* lay open, and was very ill fortified : This he repeated often, and it was known in *France* :

So

So that the King resolved to possess himself of the *Comté*, but used that precaution, that fearing to provoke the *Swissers*, he offered a neutrality on that side : But the *Spaniards* who judged right, that it was as much the interest of the *Cantons*, as it was theirs to preserve the *Comté* in their hands, refused to consent to it ; but they took no care to defend it, and seemed to leave that to the *Swissers*.

In the mean while the *French* money went about very liberally at *Bern*, and after those that were most likely to make opposition were gained, the *French* Minister proposed to them the necessity in which his Master found himself engaged to secure himself on that side ; but that still he would grant a neutrality on their account if the *Spaniards* would agree to it ; and with this, all the assurances that could be given in words were offered to them, that they should never find the least prejudice from the Neighbourhood of the *French*, but on the contrary all possible protection. There was just cause given by the *Spaniards* to consider them very little in their deliberation : For they would neither accept of the neutrality, nor send a considerable force to preserve the County, so that it seemed almost inevitable to give way to the *French* proposition ; but one proposed that, which an unbiaſſed Assembly would certainly have accepted, that they should go themselves and take the County, and by so doing they would secure the neutrality, which was all that the *French* pretended to desire, and they might easily satisfy the *Spaniards* and reimburse themselves of the expence of the Invasion, by restoring the County to them when a General peace should be made. He laid out the misery to which their Countrey must be reduced by so powerfull a Neighbour, but all was lost labour, so he went out in a rage and published through the Town, that the State was sold and all was lost. They now see their  
error

errour too late, and would repair it, if it were possible, but the truth is, many of the particular Members of this State, do so prey upon the publick, that unless they do with one consent reform those abuses, they will never be in condition to do much: For in many of their Bailiages, of which some are Abbeyes, the Bailifs not onely feed on the Subjects, but likewise on the State, and pretend they are so far super-expended, that they discount a great deal of the publick revenue, of which they are the receivers, for their reimbursement: Which made Mr. *d'Erlack* once say, when one of those accounts was presented, that it was very strange if the Abbey could not feed the Monks. It is true, the power of their Bannerets is so great, that one would think they might redress many abuses. The City of *Bern* is divided into four Bodies, not unlike our Companies of *London*, which are the Bakers, the Butchers, the Tanners, and the Blacksmiths, and every Citizen of *Bern* does incorporate himself into one of these Societies, which they call Abbeyes, for it is likely they were antiently a sort of a Religious fraternity: Every one of these chuses two Bannerets, who bear office by turns, from 4 years to 4 years, and every one of them has a Bailiage annexed to his office, which he holds for life. They carry their name from the Banners of the several Abbeyes as the Gonfaloniers of *Italy*: And the Advoyers carry still their name from the antient titles *Ecdicus* or Advocate, that was the title of the chief Magistrates of the Towns in the times of the *Roman* Emperours. The Chamber of the four Bannerets that bear office, has a vast power, they examine and pass all accounts, and they admit all the competitors to any offices, so that no man can be proposed to the Council of 200 without their Approbation, and this being now the chief Intrigue of their State, they have so absolute an authority in shutting men out from employments, that their  
office

office, which is for life, is no less considerable than that of the Advoyer, though they are inferior to him in rank. They manage matters with great address, of which this instance was given me in a competition for the Advoyarship not long ago. There was one whose temper was violent, that had made it so sure among those who were qualified to vote in it, as being neither of his kindred nor alliance, that they believed he would carry it from the other competitor, whom they favoured, so they set up a third competitor whose kindred were the persons that were made sure to him, whose advancement they opposed, and by this means they were all shut out from voting, so that the Election went according to the design of Bannerets. The chief man now in *Bern*, who was the reigning Advoyer when I was there is Mr. *d'Erlack*, Nephew to that Mr. *d'Erlack* who was governor of *Brisack*, and had a Brevet to be a Marshal of *France*; this is one of the noblest Families in *Bern*, that acted a great part in shaking of the *Austrian* Tyranny, and they have been ever since very much distinguished there from all the rest of their Nobility; the present head of it is a very extraordinary Man, he has a great authority in his Canton, not onely as he is Advoyer, but by the particular esteem which is paid him: For he is thought the wisest and worthiest Man of the State; though it is somewhat strange how he should bear such a sway in such a Government, for he neither feasts nor drinks with the rest. He is a Man of great sobriety and gravity, very reserved, and behaves himself liker a Minister of State in a Monarchy, then a Magistrate in a Popular Government: For one sees in him none of those arts, that seem necessary in such a Government. He has a great Estate and no Children, so he has no projects for his Family, and does what he can to correct the abuses of the State, though the disease is inveterate and seems past cure.

He

He had a misfortune in a War that was 30 years ago, in the year 1656. between the Popish and the Protestant Cantons, the occasion of which will engage me in a short digression. The peace of *Switzerland* is chiefly preserved by a Law agreed on among all the Cantons, that every Canton may make what regulations concerning Religion they think fit, without prejudice to the general league. Now the Popish Cantons have made Laws, that it shall be capital to any to change their Religion, and on a set day every year they go all to Mass, and the Masters of Families swear to continue true to the State, and firm in their Religion to their lives end, and so they pretend they punish their falling into Heresie with death and confiscation of goods, because it is a violation of the Faith, which is so solemnly sworn. But on the other hand in the Protestant Cantons such as turn are onely obliged to go and live out of the Canton; but for their Estates they still preserve them, and are permitted to sell them. One cannot but observe more of the mercifull spirit of the Gospel in the one than in the other. In two Cantons *Appenzel* and *Glaris* both Religions are tollerated, and are capable of equal privileges, and in some Bailiages that were conquered in common by the Cantons of *Bern* and *Friburg*, in the Wars with *Savoy*, the two Cantons name the Bailiffs by turns, and both Religions are so equally tollerated, that in the same Church they have both Mass and Sermon, so equally, that on one *Sunday* the Mass begins and the Sermon follows, and the next *Sunday* the Sermon begins and the Mass comes next, without the least disorder or murmuring.

But in the year 1656. some of the Cantons of *Switz* changing their Religion, and retiring to *Zurich*, their Estates were confiscated, and some others that had also changed, but had not left the Canton, were taken and beheaded. *Zurich* demanded the Estates of  
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the refuges, but instead of granting this, the Canton of *Switz* demanded back their subjects that they might proceed against them as delinquents, and they founded this on a Law, by which the Cantons are obliged to deliver up the Criminals of another Canton when they come among them, if they are demanded by the Canton to which they belong; but those of *Zurich* and *Bern* thought this was both inhumane and unchristian, though the Deputy of *Basil* was of another mind, and thought that they ought to be delivered up, which extreemly disgusted those of *Zurich*. Those of *Switz* committed some insolencies upon the subjects of *Zurich*, and refused to give satisfaction. Upon all which a War followed between the Protestant and Popish Cantons. The Cantons of *Bern* and *Zurich* raised an Army of 25000 men, which was commanded by Mr. *d'Erlack*, but was dispersed in several Bodies: and the Papists had not above 6000, yet they surprized Mr. *d'Erlack* with a body not much superiour to theirs, both sides after a short engagement run, the Cannon of the Canton of *Bern* was left in the field a whole day, at last those of *Lucern* seeing that none stayed to defend the Cannon carried them off; this loss raised such a tumult in *Bern* that they seemed resolved to sacrifice Mr. *d'Erlack*; but he came with such a presence of mind, and gave so satisfying an account of the misfortune that the tumult ceased, and soon after the War ended. Upon this many thought, that though the Papists acted cruelly, yet it was according to their Laws, and that no other Canton could pretend to interpose or quarrel with those of *Switz* for what they did upon that occasion. Within these few years there were some quarrels like to arise in the Canton of *Glaris*, where it was said that the equal privileges agreed on to both Religions were not preserved, but on this occasion the Popes *Nuncio* acted a very different part, from that which might

might have been expected from him: For whereas the Ministers of that Court have been commonly the Incendiaries in all the disputes that concern Religion, he acted rather the part of a Mediator, and whereas it was visible that the injustice lay on the side of the Papists, he interposed so effectually with those of *Lucern*, which is the chief of the Popish Cantons, that the difference was composed.

But to return to *Bern*, the buildings have neither great magnificence nor many apartments, but they are convenient, and suited to the way of living in the Countrey. The streets not onely of *Bern* and the bigger Towns, but even of the smallest Villages are furnished with Fountains that run continually, which as they are of great use, so they want not their beauty. The great Church of *Bern* is a very noble Fabrick: but being built on the top of the Hill on which the Town stands, it seems the ground began to fail, so to support it, they have raised a vast Fabrick, which has cost more than the Church it self; for there is a plat-form made, which is a square, to which the Church is one side, and the further side is a vast Wall, fortified with buttresses about 150 foot high. They told me that all the ground down to the bottom of the Hill was dug into Vaults; this plat-form is the chief walk of the Town, chiefly about Sun set; and the River underneath presents a very beautifull prospect: For there is a cut taken off from it for the Mills, but all along as this cut goes the Water of *Aar* runs over a sloping bank of Stone, which they say was made at a vast charge, and makes a noble and large Cascade.

The second Church is the Dominicans Chappel, where I saw the famous hole that went to an Image in the Church, from one of the Cells of the Dominicans, which leads me to set down that story at some length: For as it was one of the most signal cheats that the

World has known, so it falling out about 20 years before the Reformation was received in *Bern*, it is very probable that it contributed not a little to the preparing of the spirits of the people to that change. I am the more able to give a particular account of it, because I read the original process in the Latine Record, signed by the Notaries of the Court of the Delegates which the Pope sent to try the matter. The Record is above 130 sheets writ close and of all sides, it being indeed a large Volume, and I found the printed accounts so defective, that I was at the pains of reading the whole Process, of which I will give here a true abstract.

The two famous Orders that had possessed themselves of the esteem of those dark Ages, were engaged in a mighty rivalry. The Dominicans were the more learned, they were the eminentest Preachers of those Times, and had the conduct of the Courts of Inquisition, and the other chief offices in the Church in their hands. But on the other hand the Franciscans had an outward appearance of more severity, a ruder habit, stricter rules, and greater poverty: all which gave them such advantages in the eyes of the simple multitude, as were able to ballance the other honours of the Dominican Order. In short, the two Orders were engaged in a high rivalry, but the Devotion towards the Virgin being the prevailing passion of those times, the Franciscans upon this had great advantages. The Dominicans, who are all engaged in the defence of *Thomas Aquinas's* opinions, were thereby obliged to assert that she was born in original sin; this was proposed to the people by the Franciscans as no less than blasphemy, and by this the Dominicans began to lose ground extremely in the minds of the people, who were strongly prepossessed in favours of the immaculate conception.



About the beginning of the fifteenth Century, a Franciscan happened to preach in *Francfort*, and one *Wigand* a Dominican coming into the Church, the Cordelier seeing him broke out into exclamations, praising God that he was not of an Order that prophaned the Virgin, or that poysoned Princes in the Sacrament, (for a Dominican had poysoned the Emperour *Henry* the VII. with the Sacrament) *Wigand* being extreemly provoked with this bloody reproach gave him the lie, upon which a dispute arose, which ended in a tumult that had almost cost the Dominican his life, yet he got away. The whole Order resolved to take their revenge, and in a Chapter held at *Vimpfen* in the year 1504, they contrived a method for supporting the credit of their Order, which was much sunk in the opinion of the people, and for bearing down the Reputation of the Franciscans. Four of the Juncto undertook to manage the design; for they said since the people were so much disposed to believe Dreams and Fables they must dream of their side, and endeavour to cheat the people as well as the others had done. They resolved to make *Bern* the Scene in which the project should be put in execution; for they found the people of *Bern* at that time apt to swallow any thing, and not disposed to make severe enquiries into extraordinary matters. When they had formed their design a fit tool presented it self, for one *Jetzer* came to take their Habit as a Lay-brother, who had all the dispositions that were necessary for the execution of their project; for he was extreem simple, and was much inclined to austeritie, so having observed his temper well, they began to execute their project the very night after he took the habit, which was on *Lady-day* 1507. One of the Friers conveyed himself secretly into his Cell, and appeared to him as if he had been in Purgatory, in a strange figure, and he had a Box near his mouth upon which as he blew

fire seemed to come out of his mouth. He had also some Dogs about him that appeared as his tormenters. In this posture he came near the Frier while he was in bed, and took up a celebrated Story that they used to tell all their Friars, to beget in them a great dread at the laying aside their Habit, which was, that one of the Order, who was Superiour of their House at *Soloturn* had gone to *Paris*, but laying aside his Habit was killed in his Lay-habit. The Frier in the *Vizar* said he was that person, and was condemned to Purgatory for that crime ; but he added that he might be rescued out of it by his means, and he seconded this with most horrible cries expressing the miseries which he suffered. The poor Frier (*Jetzer*) was excessively frightened, but the other advanced and required a promise of him to doe that which he should desire of him, in order to the delivering him out of his torment. The frightened Frier promised him all that he asked of him ; then the other said he knew he was a great Saint, and that his prayers and mortifications would prevail, but they must be very extraordinary. The whole Monastery must for a week together discipline themselves with a Whip, and he must lie prostrate in the form of one on a Cross in one of their Chappels, while Mass was said in the sight of all that should come together to it ; and he added that if he did this he should find the effects of the love that the B. Virgin did bear him, together with many other extraordinary things ; and said he would appear again accompanied with two other Spirits, and assured him that all that he did suffer for his deliverance should be most gloriously rewarded. Morning was no sooner come than the Frier gave an account of this Apparition to the rest of the Convent, who seemed extremely surprized at it, they all pressed him to undergo the discipline that was enjoined him, and every one undertook to bear his share, so the deluded Frier performed it all exactly in one of the Chapels

pels of their Church: This drew a vast number of Spectatours together, who all considered the poor Frier as a Saint, and in the mean while the four Friars that managed the imposture magnified the Miracle of the Apparition to the skies in their Sermons. The Friars Confessour was upon the secret, and by this means they knew all the little passages of the poor Friars life, even to his thoughts, which helped them not a little in the Conduct of the matter. The Confessour gave him an Hosty, with a piece of Wood, that was, as he pretended, a true piece of the Cross, and by these he was to fortifie himself, if any other Apparitions should come to him, since evil Spirits would be certainly chained up by them. The night after that the former Apparition was renewed, and the masked Frier brought two others with him in such Vizzards that the Frier thought they were Devils indeed. The Frier presented the Hosty to them, which gave them such a check that he was fully satisfied of the vertue of this preservative.

The Frier, that pretended he was suffering in Purgatory, said so many things to him relating to the secrets of his life, and thoughts, which he had from the Confessour, that the poor Frier was fully possessed with the opinion of the reality of the Apparition. In two of these Apparitions that were both managed in the same manner, the Frier in the Masque talked much of the Dominican Order, which he said was excessively dear to the B. Virgin, who knew her self to be conceived in Original sin, and that the Doctours who taught the contrary were in Purgatory: That the Story of St. *Bernards* appearing with a spot on him, for having opposed himself to the feast of the Conception, was a Forgery: But that it was true that some hideous flies had appeared on St. *Bonaventures* Tomb who taught the contrary, that the B. Virgin abhorred

red the *Cordeliers* for making her equal to her Son, that *Scotus* was damned whose Canonization the *Cordeliers* were then soliciting hard at *Rome*, and that the Town of *Bern* would be destroyed for harbouring such plagues within their walls. When the enjoined discipline was fully performed, the Spirit appeared again and said he was now delivered out of Purgatory, but before he could be admitted to Heaven he must receive the Sacrament, having died without it, and after that he would say Mass for those, who had by their great charities rescued him out of his pains. The Frier fancied the voice resembled the Priors a little; but he was then so far from suspecting any thing, that he gave no great heed to this suspicion. Some days after this the same Frier appeared as a Nun all in Glory, and told the poor Frier that she was St. *Barbara*, for whom he had a particular devotion, and added that the *B. Virgin* was so much pleased with his charity, that she intended to come and visit him: He immediately called the Convent together, and gave the rest of the Friars an account of this Apparition, which was entertained by them all with great joy; and the Frier languished in desires for the accomplishment of the promise that St. *Barbara* had made him. After some days the longed for delusion appeared to him, clothed as the Virgin used to be on the great Feasts, and indeed in the same Habits: There were about her some Angels, which he afterwards found were the little statues of Angels which they set on the Altars, on the great holy days. There was also a pulley fastened in the room over his head, and a cord tied to the Angels, that made them rise up in the air, and flie about the Virgin, which encreased the delusion. The Virgin, after some endearments to himself extolling the merit of his charity and discipline, told him that she was conceived in original sin, and that

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Pope *Julius* the second, that then reigned, was to put an end to the dispute, and was to abolish the feast of her conception, which *Sixtus* the Fourth had instituted, and that the Frier was to be the instrument of perswading the Pope of the truth in that matter: She gave him three drops of her Son's blood, which were three tears of blood that he had shed over *Jerusalem*, and this signified that she was three hours in original sin, after which she was, by his mercy, delivered out of that State: For it seems the Dominicans were resolved so to compound the matter, that they should gain the main point of her conception in sin, yet they would comply so far with the reverence for the Virgin, with which the World was possessed, that she should be believed to have remained a very short while in that State. She gave him also five drops of blood in the form of a Cross, which were tears of blood, that she had shed while her Son was on the Cross. And, to convince him more fully, she presented a Hosty to him, that appeared as an ordinary Hosty, and of a sudden it appeared to be of a deep red colour. The cheat of those supposed visits was often repeated to the abused Frier, at last the Virgin told him that she was to give him such marks of her Sons love to him, that the matter should be past all doubt. She said that the five wounds of *St. Lucia* and *St. Catharine* were real wounds, and that she would also imprint them on him, so she bid him reach his hand; he had no great mind to receive a favour in which he was to suffer so much: But she forced his hand and struck a nail through it, the hole was as big as a grain of pease, and he saw the Candle clearly through it, this threw him out of a supposed transport into a real Agony; but she seemed to touch his hand, and he thought he smelt an ointment, with which she anointed it, though his Confessour perswaded him that

that was onely an imagination, so the supposed Virgin left him for that time.

The next night the Apparition returned, and brought some linnen Cloths, which had some real or imaginary vertue to allay his torment, and the pretended Virgin said, they were some of the Linnen in which Christ was wrapped, and with that she gave him a soporiferous draught, and while he was fast asleep, the other four wounds were imprinted on his body in such a manner that he felt no pain.

But in order to the doing of this the Friars betook themselves to charms, and the Sub-prior shewed the rest a book full of them, but he said that before they could be effectual they must renounce God, and he not onely did this himself, but by a formal act put in writing signed with his Blood he dedicated himself to the Devil, it is true he did not oblige the rest to this, but onely to renounce God. The composition of the Draught was a mixture of some Fountain-water and Chrism, the hairs of the Eye-brows of a Child, some Quicksilver, some grains of Incense, somewhat of an Easter Wax-Candle, some consecrated Salt, and the Blood of an unbaptised Child. This Composition was a secret, which the Sub-prior did not communicate to the other Friars. By this the poor Frier *Jetzer* was made almost quite insensible: When he was awake, and came out of this deep sleep, he felt this wonderfull impression on his body, and now he was ravished out of measure, and came to fancy himself to be acting all the parts of our Saviours Passion: He was exposed to the people on the great Altar, to the amazement of the whole Town, and to the no small mortification of the *Franciscans*. The *Dominicans* gave him some other draughts that threw him into Convulsions, and when he came out of those, a voice was heard, which came through that hole which yet remains and runs from

from one of the Cells along a great part of the wall of the Church : For a Frier spoke through a pipe, and at the end of the hole there was an Image of the Virgin with a little Jesus in her armes, between whom and his mother the voice seemed to come, the Image also seemed to shed tears, and a Painter had drawn those on her face so lively, that the people were deceived by it. The little Jesus askt why she wept, and she said it was because his honour was given to her, since it was said that she was born without sin ; in Conclusion the Friars did so over act this matter, that at last even the poor deluded Frier himself came to discover it, and resolved to quit the Order.

It was in vain to delude him with more Apparitions for he well nigh kill'd a Frier that came to him personating the Virgin in another shape with a Crown on her head : He also over-heard the Friars once talking amongst themselves of the Contrivance and success of the imposture, so plainly, that he discovered the whole matter, and upon that, as may be easily imagined, he was filled with all the horror with which such a discovery could inspire him.

The Friars fearing that an imposture which was carried on hitherto with so much success, should be quite spoiled, and be turned against them, thought the surest way was to own the whole matter to him, and to engage him to carry on the Cheat. They told him in what esteem he would be, if he continued to support the reputation that he had acquired, that he would become the chief person of the Order, and in the end they perswaded him to go on with the imposture : But at last they fearing lest he should discover all, resolved to poyson him : Of which he was so apprehensive; that once a Loaf being brought him that was prepared with some spices, he kept it for some time, and it growing green he

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threw it to some young Wolves whelps that were in the Monastery who died immediately. His constitution was also so vigorous, that though they gave him poyson five several times he was not destroyed by it; they also prest him earnestly to renounce God which they judged necessary, that so their Charms might have their effect on him; but he would never consent to that, at last they forced him to take a poysoned Hosty, which yet he vomited up soon after he had swallowed it down, that failing they used him so cruelly, whipping him with an Iron Chain, and girding him about so strait with it, that to avoid further torment he swore to them, in a most imprecating stile, that he would never discover the secret; but would still carry it on, and so he deluded them till he found an opportunity of getting out of the Convent, and of throwing himself into the hands of the Magistrates to whom he discovered all.

The four Friers were seized on, and put in prison, and an account of the whole matter was sent, first to the Bishop of *Lausanne* and then to *Rome*, and it may be easily imagined, that the *Franciscans* took all possible care to have it well examined by the Bishops of *Lausanne* and *Zion*, with the Provincial of the *Dominicans* were appointed to form the Process. The four Friers first excepted to *Jetzers* credit, but that was rejected, then being threatned with the question, they put in a long plea against that; but though the Provincial would not consent to that yet they were put to the question, some endured it long, but at last they all confessed the whole progress of the imposture. The Provincial appeared concerned; for though *Jetzer* had opened the whole matter to him, yet he would give no credit to him, on the contrary he charged him to be obedient to them, and one of the Friers said plainly, that he was in the whole



whole secret and so he withdrew, but he died some days after at *Constance* having poisoned himself, as was believed. The matter lay asleep some time, but a year after that a *Spanish* Bishop came, authorized with full powers from *Rome*, and the whole Cheat being fully proved, the four Friars were solemnly degraded from their Priesthood, and Eight days after, it being the last of *May* 1509, they were burnt in a Meadow on the other side of the River over against the great Church; the place of their Execution was shewed me, as well as the hole in the wall, through which the Voice was conveyed to the Image. It was certainly one of the blackest, and yet the best carried on cheat, that has been ever known, and no doubt had the poor Frier died, before the discovery, it had passed down to posterity as one of the greatest Miracles that ever was, and it gives a shrewd suspicion that many of the other Miracles of that Church, were of the same nature but more successfully finished.

I shall not entertain you any further with the State of *Bern* but shall only add one general remark, which was too visible not to be observed every where, and of too great importance not to deserve a particular reflection; it belongs in general to all the Cantons, but I give it here because I had more occasion to make it in *Bern*, having seen it more and shall longer in it, than in the other Cantons.

*Switzerland* lies between *France* and *Italy*, that are both of them Countries incomparably more rich, and better furnished with all the pleasures and conveniences of life than it is, and yet *Italy* is almost quite dispeopled, and the people in it are reduced to a misery, that can scarce be imagined by those who have not seen it; and *France* is in a great measure dispeopled, and the Inhabitants are reduced to a poverty that appears in all the marks in which

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it can shew it self, both in their houses, furniture, cloths and looks.

On the contrary, *Switzerland* is extream full of People, and in every place in the Villages, as well as in their Towns one sees all the marks he can look for of plenty and wealth, their houses and windows are in good case, the high ways are well maintained, all People are well clothed and every one lives at his ease. This observation surprized me yet more in the Countrey of the *Grisons*, who have almost no soil at all, being situated in Valleys that are almost all washed away with the torrents that fall down from the hills, and swell their Brooks sometimes so violently and so suddenly, that in many places the whole soil is washed away, and yet those Valleys are well peopled, and every one lives happy and at ease, under a gentle Government, whilst other rich and plentiful Countries are reduced to such misery, that as many of the Inhabitants are forced to change their seats, so those who stay behind can scarce live and pay those grievous Impositions that are laid upon them; the rude People generally reason very simply when they enter into speculations of Government, but they feel true, though they argue false, so an easie Government though joined to an ill soil, and accompanied with great inconveniencies, draws, or at least keeps People in it, whereas a severe Government though in general *Ideas* it may appear reasonable, drives its subjects even out of the best and most desirable seats.

In my way from *Bern* to this place I passed by *Soloturn*, as I came through *Friburg* in my way from *Lausanne* to *Bern*, these are two of the chief of the Popish Cantons, after *Lucern*, and one sees in them a heat and bigotry beyond what appears either in *France* or *Italy*: Long before they come within the Church doors they kneel down in the Streets when

when Masse is faying in it. The Images are also extream grosse. In the chief Church of *Soloturn* there is an Image of God the Father, as an old man with a great black beard, having our Saviour on his knees, and a Pigeon over his Head. Here also begins a devotion at the Ave-Mary-Bell, which is scarce known in *France*, but is practised all *Italy* over: At Noon and at Sun-set the Bell rings, and all say the Ave-Mary, and a short Prayer to the Virgin; but whereas in *Italy* they content themselves with putting off their Hats, in *Switzerland* they do for the most part kneel down in the Streets, which I saw no where practised in *Italy* except at *Venice*, and there it is not commonly done. But notwithstanding this extream bigotry, all the *Switzers* see their common interest so well, that they live in a very good understanding one with another. This is indeed chiefly owing to the Canton of *Lucern*, where there is a spirit in the Government very different from what is in most of the other Popish Cantons: the residence of the *Spanish* Ambassadour and of the Nuncio in that Town, contributes also much to the preserving it in so good a temper, it being their interest to unite *Switzerland*, and by this means the heat and indiscretion of the rest is often moderated.

The *Jesuits* begin to grow as powerfull in *Switzerland* as they are elsewhere: they have a noble Colledge and Chappel situated in the best place of *Friburg*. It is not long since they were received at *Soloturn*, where there was a revenue of one thousand Livres a year, set off for the maintenance of ten of them, with this provision that they should never exceed that number; but where they are once settled they find means to break through all limitations, and they are now become so rich there, that they are raising a Church and Colledge, which will cost before it is finished above four hundred thousand Livres, to  
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which the *French King* gives ten thousand *Livres* for the *Frontispiece* : For this being the Canton in which his *Ambassadour* resides, he thought it suitable to his glory to have a monument of his bounty raised by an Order that will never be wanting to flatter their *Benefactors*, as long as they find their account in it.

In the same Canton there is an Abbey that has 100000 *Livres* of revenue, there is also a very rich House of Nuns that wear the *Capuchins Habit*, that as I was told, had 60000 *Livres* of revenue, and but 60 Nuns in it, who having thus 1000 *Livres* a piece, may live in all possible plenty in a Countrey where a very little money goes a great way : But that which surprises one most at *Solothurn*, is the great Fortification that they are building of a Wall about the Town, the noblest and solideest that is any where to be seen, the Stone with which it is faced is a sort of coarse Marble, but of that bigness that many Stones are 10 foot long, and 2 foot of breadth and thickness : But though this will be a work of vast expence and great beauty, yet it would signifie little against a great Army that would would attack it vigorously. The Wall is finished on the side of the River on which the Town stands, the Ditch is very broad, and the Counterescarp and *Glasier* are also finished, and they are working at a Fort on the other side of the River, which they intend to fortifie in the same manner. This has cost them near two millions of *Livres*, and this vast expence has made them often repent the undertaking ; and it is certain that a Fortification that is able to resist the rage of their Peasants in the case of a Rebellion is all that is needfull. This Canton has two *Advoyers* as *Bern*, the little Council consists of 36, they have 12 *Bailiaiges* belonging to them, which are very profitable to those that can carry them ; they have one *Bursar*, and but one *Banneret*. All the Cantons have their *Bailiaiges*,

ges, but if there are disorders at *Bern* in the choice of their Balliffs, there are greater among the Popish Cantons, where all things are sold, as a foreign Minister that resides there told me; who though he knew what my Religion was, did not stick to own frankly to me, that the Catholick Cantons were not near so well governed as the Protestant Cantons. Justice is generally sold among them, and in their Treaties with foreign Princes, they have sometimes taken money both from the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadours, and have signed contradictory Articles at the same time.

*Baden* has nothing in it that is remarkable, except its convenient situation, which makes it the seat of the general Dyet of the Cantons, though it is not one of them, but is a Balliage that belongs in common to eight of the ancient Cantons. At last I came to this place, which as it is the first and most honourable of all the Cantons, so with relation to us it has a precedence of a higher nature, it being the first that received the Reformation.

This Canton is much less than *Bern*, yet the publick is much richer: they reckon that they can bring 50000 Men together upon 24 hours warning: their Subjects live happy, for the Bailiffs here have regulated appointments, and have onely the hundredth penny of the fines, so that they are not tempted as those of *Bern* are, to whom the fine belongs entirely, to strain matters against their Subjects: and whereas at *Bern* the constant intrigue of the whole Town is concerning their Bailiages, here on the contrary it is a service to which the Citizens are bound to submit according to their constitution, but to which they do not aspire. The Government is almost the same as at *Bern*, and the Magistrate that is called the Advoyer at *Bern* is here called the Bourgomaister. The revenue of the State is here justly accounted for, so that the publick Purse is much richer than at *Bern*; the Arsenal

nal is much better furnished, and the Fortifications are more regular. There is a great trade stirring here, and as their Lake that is 24 miles long and about 2 or 3 broad, supplies them well with Provisions, so their River carries their Manufacture to the *Rhine*, from whence it is conveyed as they please. One of their chief Manufacturies is Crape, which is in all respects the best I ever saw. I will not describe the situation of the Town, but shall content my self to tell you that it is extream pleasant; the Countrey about it is Mountainous, and the Winters are hard, for the Lake freezes quite over, onely in some places the Ice never lies, which is believed a mark that some Springs rise there, which cause that heat, so also in the Lake of *Geneva*, though it is never quite frozen, yet great boards of Ice lie in several parts, but these are never seen in some parts of the Lake, which is supposed to flow from the same cause.

But to return to *Zurich*; one sees here the true ancient simplicity of the *Switzers*, not corrupted with luxury or vanity; their Women not onely do not converse familiarly with Men, except those of their near kindred, but even on the Streets do not make any returns to the civility of Strangers, for it is only Strangers that put off their Hats to Women, but they make no Courtesies: and here as in all *Switzerland* Women are not saluted, but the civility is expressed by taking them by the Hand. There is one thing singular in the constitution of *Zurich*, that is their little Council consists of 50 persons, but there sit in it onely 25 at a time, and so the two halves of this Council, as each of them has his proper *Bourgonmaster*, have also the Government in their Hands by turns, and they shift every six months, at *Midsummer* and at *Christmas*. The whole Canton is divided into 9 great Bailiages and 21 Castellaneries; in the former the Bailiff resides constantly, but the Castellan who is also one of the great

great Council, has so little to doe that he lives at *Zurich*, and goes onely at some set times of the year to doe justice.

The vertue of this Canton has appeared signally in their adhering firmly to the ancient capitulations with the *French*, and not slackening in any article, which has been done by all the other Cantons, where Money has a sovereign influence; but here it has never prevailed. They have converted the ancient revenues of the Church more generally to pious uses than has been done any where else, that I know of. They have many Hospitals well entertained, in one, as I was told, there was 650 poor kept: but as they support the real charities, which belongs to such endowments, so they despise that vain magnificence of buildings which is too generally affected elsewhere; for theirs are very plain, and one of the Government there said to me very sensibly, that they thought it enough to maintain their poor as poor, and did not judge it proper to lodge them as Princes.

The Dean and Chapter are likewise still continued as a Corporation, and enjoy the revenues which they had before the Reformation, but if they subsist plentifully they labour hard, for they have generally 2 or 3 Sermons a day, and at least one: the first begins at five a clock in the morning. From *Geneva*, and all *Switzerland* over, there are daily Sermons, which were substituted upon the Reformation to the Masse. But the Sermons are generally too long, and the Preachers have departed from the first design of these Sermons, which were intended to be an explication of a whole Chapter, and an Exhortation upon it; and if this were so contrived that it were in all not above a quarter of an hour long, as it would be heard by the people with less weariness and more profit, so it would be a vast advantage to the Preachers: For as it would oblige them to study the Scriptures much, so having  
once

once made themselves masters of the practical parts of the Scripture, such short and simple discourses would cost them less pains than those more laboured Sermons do, which consume the greatest part of their time, and too often to very little purpose.

Among the Archives of the Dean and Chapter, there is a vast collection of Letters, written either to *Bullinger* or by him; they are bound up, and make a great many Volumes in Folio, and out of these no doubt but one might discover a great many particulars relating to the History of the Reformation: for as *Bullinger* lived long, so he was much esteemed. He procured a very kind reception to be given to some of our *English* Exiles in *Queen Maries* Reign, in particular to *Sands* afterwards Archbishop of *York*, to *Horn* afterwards Bishop of *Winchester*, and to *Jewel* Bishop of *Salisbury*. He gave them Lodgings in the Close, and used them with all possible kindness; and as they presented some Silver Cups to the College, with an Inscription acknowledging the kind reception they had found there, which I saw, so they continued to keep a constant correspondence with *Bullinger*, after the happy re-establishment of the Reformation under *Queen Elizabeth*; of which I read almost a whole Volume while I was there: Most of them contain onely the general News, but some were more important, and relate to the disputes then on foot, concerning the Habits of the Clergy, which gave the first beginnings to our unhappy divisions: and by the Letters, of which I read the Originals, it appears that the Bishops preserved the ancient Habits rather in compliance with the *Queens* inclinations, than out of any liking they had to them; so far they were from liking them that they plainly express their dislike of them. *Jewel*, in a Letter bearing date the 8th of *February* 1566, wishes that the Vestments, together with all the other remnants of Popery might be thrown



thrown both out of their Churches, and out of the minds of the People, and laments the Queens fixedness to them; so that she would suffer no change to be made. And in January the same year, Sands writes to the same purpose. *Contenditur de Vestibus Papi- sticis utendis vel non utendis, dabit Deus his quoque finem.* Disputes are now on foot concerning the Popish Vestments whether they should be used or not, but God will put an end to those things. Horn Bishop of Winchester went further: For in a Letter dated the 16th of July 1565, he writes of the Act concerning the Habits with great regret, and expresses some hopes that it might be repealed next Session of Parliament, if the Popish party did not hinder it; and he seems to stand in doubt whether he should conform himself to it or not, upon which he desires Bullingers advice. And in many Letters writ on that Subject, it is asserted, that both Cranmer and Ridley intended to procure an Act for abolishing the Habits, and that they onely defended their lawfulness, but not their fitness, and therefore they blamed private persons that refused to obey the Laws. Grindal in a Letter dated the 27th of August 1566, writes, That all the Bishops, who had been beyond Sea, had at their return dealt with the Queen to let the matter of the Habits fall: but she was so prepossessed, that though they had all endeavoured to divert her from prosecuting that matter, she continued still inflexible. This had made them resolve to submit to the Laws, and to wait for a fit opportunity to reverse them. He laments the ill effects of the opposition that some had made to them, which had extreemly irritated the Queens spirit, so that she was now much more heated in those matters than formerly: He also thanks Bullinger for the Letter that he had writ justifying the lawfull use of the Habits, which he says had done great service. Cox Bishop of Ely, in one of his Letters, laments the aversion that they

They found in the Parliament to all the Propositions that were made for the reformation of abuses. *Jerome* in a Letter dated the 22<sup>d</sup> of *May* 1559, writes, That the Queen refused to be called Head of the Church and adds, That that Title could not be justly given to any mortal, it being due onely to Christ; and that such Titles had been so much abused by Antichrist, that they ought not to be any longer continued. On all these passages I will make no reflections here: For I set them down onely to shew what was the sense of our chief Churchmen at that time concerning those matters, which have since engaged us into such warm and angry disputes, and this may be no inconsiderable instruction to one that intends to write the History of that time. The last particular with which I intend to end this Letter, might seem a little too learned if I were writing to a less knowing Man than your self.

I have taken some pains in my travels to examine all the Antient Manuscripts of the New Testament concerning that doubted passage of *St. Johns* Epistle. There are three that bear witness in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and these three are one. *Bullinger* doubted much of it, because he found it not in an ancient *Latin* Manuscript at *Zurich* which seems to be about 800 years old: For it is written in that hand that began to be used in *Charles* the Great's time. I turned the Manuscript, and found the passage was not there; but this was certainly the error or omission of the Copier: For before the General Epistles in that Manuscript the Preface of *St. Jeromes* is to be found, in which he says that he was the more exact in that Translation, that so he might discover the fraud of the *Arrians* who had struck out that passage concerning the Trinity. This Preface is printed in *Lira's* Bible: But how it came to be left out by *Erasmus* in

in his Edition of that Fathers works is that of which I can give no account: For as on the one hand *Erasmus's* sincerity ought not to be too rashly censured, so on the other hand, that Preface being in all the Manuscripts Ancient or Modern of those Bibles that have the other Prefaces in them that I ever yet saw, it is not easie to imagine what made *Erasmus* not to publish it, and it is in the Manuscript Bibles at *Basle*, where he printed his Edition of *S. Jerome's* Works. In the old Manuscript Bible of *Geneva*, that seems to be above 700 years old, both the Preface and the Passage are extant, but with this difference from the common Editions, that the common Editions set the Verse concerning *the Father, the Word, and the Spirit*, before that of *the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit*; which comes after it in this Copy: And that I may in this place end all the readings I found of this passage in my Travels, there is a Manuscript in *S. Mark's* Library in *Venice* in three languages, Greek, Latine, and Arabick, that seems not above 400 years old, in which this passage is not in the Greek, but it is in the Latin set after the other three, with a *sicut* to joyn it to what goes before. And in a Manuscript Latin Bible in the Library of *S. Lawrence* at *Florence* both *S. Jerome's* Preface and this Passage are extant: but this Passage comes after the other, and is pinned to it with a *sicut* as is that of *Venice*; yet *sicut* is not in the *Geneva* Manuscript: There are two Greek Manuscripts of the Epistles at *Basle*, that seem to be about 500 years old, in neither of which this passage is to be found: they have also an ancient Latin Bible, which is about 800 year old, in which though *S. Jerome's* Prologue is inserted yet this passage is wanting. At *Strasburg* I saw 4 very ancient Manuscripts of the New Testament in Latine: three of these seemed to be about the time of *Charles the Great*, but the fourth seemed to be much  
ancien-

ancienter and may belong to the seventh Century: it is neither the Prologue nor the place is extant; but it is added at the foot of the page with another hand. In two of the other the Prologue is extant, but the place is not: only in one of them it is added on the Margent. In the fourth as the Prologue is extant, so is the place likewise; but it comes after the Verse of the other three, and is joyned to it thus, *sicut tres sunt in celo.*

It seemed strange to me, and it is almost incredible, that in the Vatican Library there are no ancient Latine Bibles, where above all other places they ought to be lookt for; but I saw none above 400 year old. There is indeed the famous Greek Manuscript of great value, which the *Chanoine Shelfstras*, that was Library keeper, asserted to be 1400 year old, and proved it by the great similitude of the Characters with those that are upon *S. Hippolites* Statue, which is so evident, that if his Statue was made about his time the antiquity of this Manuscript is not to be disputed. If the Characters are not so fair and have not all the marks of Antiquity that appears in the King's Manuscript at *S. James's*, yet this has been much better preserved, and is much more entire. The passage that has led me into this digression, is not to be found in the Vatican Manuscript, no more than it is in the King's Manuscript. And with this I will finish my account of *Zurich*. The publick Library is very noble: the Hall in which it is placed is large and well contrived; there is a very handsome Cabinet of Medals: and so I will break off. But when I have gone so much farther that I have gathered materials for another Letter of this Volume, you may look for a second entertainment, such as it is, from

Your, &c.

P O S T.

## P O S T S C R I P T.

I told you that in Bern, the Bailiages are given by a sort of a Ballot, which is so managed that no mans vote is known : but I must now add that since I was first there, they have made a considerable regulation in the way of voting, when offices are to be given, which approaches much nearer the Venetian method, and which exposes the Competitours more to chance, and by consequence may put an end to the intrigues, that are so much in use for obtaining those employments. There is a number of Balls put into a Box, equal to the number of those that have right to vote, and that are present ; of these the third part is gilt, and two parts are only silvered, so every one takes out a Ball ; but none can vote except those who have the gilt Balls, so that hereafter a man may have more than two thirds sure, and yet be cast in a Competition.

There is one thing for which the Switzers, in particular those of Bern, cannot be enough commended : they have ever since the Persecution began first in France, opened a Sanctuary to such as have retired thither, in so generous and so Christian a manner, that it deserves all the honourable remembrances that can be made of it : such Ministers and others that were at first condemned in France, for the affair of the Cevenness have not only found a kind reception here, but all the support that could be expected, and indeed much more than could have been in reason expected. For they have assigned the French Ministers a pension of five Crowns a month, if they were unmarried, and have increased it to such as had Wife and Children, so that some had above ten Crowns a month pension. They dispersed them  
over

over all the Pais de Vaud : but the greatest number staid at Lausanne and Vevay. In order to the supporting of this charge, the Charities of Zurich and the other neighbouring Protestant States, were brought hither. Not only the Protestant Cantons, but the Grisons, and some small States that are under the protection of the Cantons, such as Neuchâstel, S. Gall, and some others have sent in their Charities to Bern, who dispence them with great discretion, and bear what further charge this relief brings upon them, and in this last total and deplorable dispersion of those Churches, the whole Countrey has been animated with such a Spirit of Charity and compassion, that every Mans house and purse has been opened to the refugees that have passed thither in such numbers, that sometimes there have been above 2000 in Lausanne alone, and of these there were at one time near 200 Ministers, and they all met with a kindness and free-heartedness, that lookt more like somewhat of the Primitive Age revived, than the degeneracy of the Age in which we live.

I shall conclude this Postscript, which is already swelled to the bigness of a Letter, with a sad instance of the anger and heat that rises among Divines concerning matters of very small consequence.

The middle way that Amiral daille and some others in France, took in the matters that were disputed in Holland, concerning the Divine Decrees and the extent of the death of Christ, as it came to be generally followed in France, so it had some assertors both in Geneva and Switzerland, who denied the imputation of Adam's sin, and asserted the Universality of Christ's death, together with a sufficient Grace given to all men, asserting with this a particular and free decree of election, with an efficacious Grace for those included in it; these came to be called Universalists, and

began to grow very considerable in Geneva : two of the  
 Professors of Divinity there being known to favour  
 those Opinions. Upon this those who adhered strictly  
 to the opposite Doctrine were inflamed, and the con-  
 tention grew to that height, that almost the whole  
 Town came to be concerned, and all were divided into  
 parties. If upon this the Magistrates had enjoined  
 silence to both parties, they had certainly acted wise-  
 ly : for these are speculations so little certain and so  
 little essential to Religion that a diversity of opinions  
 ought not to be made the occasion of heat or faction.  
 But though the party of the Universalists was conside-  
 rable in Geneva, it was very small in Switzerland,  
 therefore some Divines there, that adhered to the old  
 received Doctrine, drew up some Articles in which all  
 these Doctrines were not onely condemned together,  
 with some speculations that were asserted concerning  
 Adam's Immortality, and other qualities belonging  
 to the state of innocency ; but because Capel and some  
 other Criticks had not onely asserted the novelty of the  
 points, but had taken the liberty to correct the reading  
 of the Hebrew ; supposing that some errors had been  
 committed by the Copiers of the Bible, both in the  
 vowels and consonants, in opposition to this, they con-  
 demned all corrections of the Hebrew Bible, and  
 asserted the antiquity of the points, or at least of the  
 power and reading according to them, by which though  
 they did not engage all to be of Buxtorf's opinion, as to  
 the antiquity of the points, yet they shut the door a-  
 gainst all corrections of the present punctuation. If  
 this consent of Doctrine, for so they termed it, had been  
 made onely the standard against which no man might  
 have taught, without incurring censures, the severity  
 had been more tollerable : but they obliged all such as  
 should be admitted either to the Ministry, or to a Pro-  
 fessors Chair to sign the sentio so I think, and this be-

ing so settled at Bern and Zurich, it was also carried by their authority at Geneva: but for those in office, the Moderator and Clark signed it in all their names: and thus they were not contented to make onely a Regulation in those matters, but they would needs, according to a Maxime that has been so often fatal to the Church, enter into peoples consciences, and either shew out young men from employments, or impose a Test upon them, which perhaps some have signed not without strugglings in their conscience. Yet some that set on this Test or consent are men of such extraordinary worth that I am confident they have acted in this matter out of a sincere zeal, for that which they believe to be the truth onely I wish they had larger, and freer Souls.

The onely considerable tax under which the Switzers lie, is, that when Estates are sold the fifth part of the price belongs to the publick, and all the abatement that the Bailiff can make, is to bring it to a 6th. part, this they call the Lod which is derived from Alodium: onely there are some Lands that are Frank-alod, which lie not under this tax: but this falling onely on the Sellers of Estates, it was thought a just punishment, and a wise restraint on ill Husbands of their Estates.

I was the more confirmed in the account I have given you of the derivation of Advoyer, when I found that in some small Towns in the Canton of Bern, the chief Magistrate is still so called: as in Payern, so that I make no doubt but as the Ancient Magistrates in the time of the Romans, that were to give an account of the Town were called Advocates, and afterwards the Judge in Civil matters, that was named by the Bishops, was called at first Advocate, and afterwards Vidam or Vice-dominus; so this was the Title that was still continued in Bern, while they were under the Austrian and German Yoke, and was preserved by them when they threw it off.

I have



I have perhaps touch'd too slightly the last difference that was in Switzerland, which related to the Canton of Glaris. In the Canton of Appenzel, as the two Religions are collaterated, so they are separated in different quarters; those of one Religion have the one half of the Canton, and those of the other Religion have the other half, so they live apart: but in Glaris they are mixt: and now the number of the Papists is become very low; one assured me there were not above 200 Families of that Religion, and those are also so poor that their necessities dispose some of them every day to change their Religion. The other Popish Cantons seeing the danger of losing their interest entirely in that Canton, and being set on by the intrigues of a Court, that has understood well the policy of imbroiling all other States, made great use of some complaints that were brought by the Papists of Glaris, as if the prevailing of the other Religion expos'd them to much injustice and oppression; and upon that they propos'd that the Canton should be equally divided into two halves as a Appenzel was: this was extremely unjust, since the Papists were not the tenth or perhaps the 20th part of the Canton. It is true it was so situated in the midst of the Popish Cantons, that the Protestant Cantons could not easily come to their assistance: but those of Glaris resolv'd to die rather than suffer this injustice, and the Protestant Cantons resolv'd to engage in a War with the Popish Cantons if they impos'd this matter on their brethren of Glaris: at last this temper was found that in all suits of Law between those of different Religions, two thirds of the Judges should be always of the Religion of the defendant, but while this contest was on foot, those, who as is believed, fomented it, if they did not set it on, knew how to make their advantage of the conjuncture: for then was the fortification of Huningen at the Ports of Basle much advanced, of the importance

of which they are now very apprehensive when it is too late. There are six Noble Families in Bern, that have still this privilege, that when any of them is chosen to be of the Council they take place before all the Ancient Councillours, whereas all the rest take place according to the Order in which they were chosen to be of the Council.

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THE

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# THE SECOND LETTER.

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*Millan, the first of October, 1685.*

**A**FTER a short stay at *Zurich* we went down the Lake, where we past under the Bridge at *Ripperswood*, which is a very noble work for such a Countrey; the Lake is there about half a mile broad, the bridge is about twelve foot broad, but hath no Rails on either side, so that if the wind blows hard, which is no extraordinary thing there, a man is in great danger of being blown into the Lakes: And this same defect I found in almost all the Bridges of *Lombardy*, which seemed very strange; for since that defence is made upon so small an expence, it was amazing to see Bridges so naked: And that was more surprizing in some places where the Bridges are both high and long, yet I never heard of any mischief that followed on this, but those are sober Countries where drinking is not much in use. After two days Journey we came to *Coire* which is the chief Town of the *Grisons*, and where we found a general Diet of the three Leagues sitting, so that having staid ten days there, I came to be informed of a great many particulars concerning those Leagues, which are not commonly known: The Town is but little, and

may contain between four and five thousand Souls ; it lies in a bottom upon a small Brook, that a little below the Town falls into the Rhine. It is environed with Mountains of all hands, so that they have a very short Summer, for the Snow is not melted till *May* or *June* ; and it began to snow in *September* when I was there : On a rising ground at the East-end of the Town is the Cathedral, the the Bishop's Pallace, and the Close, where the Dean and six Prebendaries live ; all within the Close are Papists, but all the Town are Protestants, and they live pretty neighbourly together. Above a quarter of a mile high in the Hill one goes up by a steep ascent to Saint *Lucius's* Chappel ; my Curiosity carried me thither : Though I gave no faith to the legend of King *Lucius*, and of his coming so far from home to be the Apostle of the *Grisons*. His Chappel is a little Vault about ten foot square, where there is an Altar, and where Mass is said upon some great Festivals ; it is situated under a natural Arch that is in the Rock, which was thought proper to be given out to have been the Cell of a Hermit, from it some drops of a small Fountain fall down near the Chappel ; the Bishop assured me it had a miraculous vertue for weak eyes, and that it was oily : But neither taste nor feeling could discover to me any oilyness : I believe it may be very good for the Eyes, as all Rock-water is ; but when I offered to shew the good old Bishop that the legend of *Lucius* was a Fable in all the parts of it ; but most remarkably in that which related to the *Grisons* ; and that we had no Kings in *Britain* at that time, but were a Province to the *Romans*, that no ancient Authours speak of it, *Bede* being the first that mentions it ; and that the pretended Letter to Pope *Eleutherius*, together with his answer, has evident Characters of forgery in it, all this signified  
nothing

nothing to the Bishop, who assured me that they had a Tradition of that in their Church, and it was inserted in their breviary which he firmly believed: He also told me the other legend of King *Lucius's* Sister *S. Emerita*, who was burnt there, and of whose veil there was yet a considerable remnant reserved among their reliques: I confess I never saw a relique so ill disguised, for it is a piece of worn linnen cloath lately washt, and the burning did not seem to be a Month old; and yet when they took it out of the Case to shew it me, there were some there that with great devotion rubb'd their beads upon it. The Bishop had some contests with his Dean, and being a Prince of the Empire he had proscribed him: The Dean had also behaved himself so insolently, that by an order of the Diet, to which even the Bishop, as was believed, consented, he was put in Prison as he came out of the Cathedral. By the common consent both of the Popish and Protestant Communities, a Law was long agoe made against Ecclesiastical Immunities: This attempt on the Dean was made four years ago; as soon as he was let out he went to *Rome*, and made great complaints of the Bishop, and it was thought the Popish party intended to move in the Diet while we were there for the repealing of that Law, but they did it not. The foundation of the quarrel between the Bishop and Dean was the Exemptions to which the Dean and Chapter pretended, and upon which the Bishop made some invasion: Upon which I took occasion to shew him the novelty of those Exemptions, and that in the primitive Church it was believed that the Bishop had the Authority over his Presbyters by a divine right; and if it was by a divine right, then the Pope could not exempt them from his obedience: But the Bishop would not carry the matter so high, and contented him-

self with two Maxims; the one was that the Bishop was Christ's Vicar in his Diocese; and the other was that what the Pope was in the Catholick Church, the Bishop was the same in his Diocese.

He was a good natured man, and did not make use of the great Authority that he has over the Papists there, to set them on to live uneasily with their neighbours of another Religion. That Bishop was anciently a great Prince, and the greatest part of the League that carries still the Name of the House of God belorged to him, though I was assured that *Fregallia* one of those Communities was a free State above six hundred years ago, and that they have Records yet extant that prove this: The other Communities of this League bought their liberties from several Bishops some considerable time before the Reformation, of which the *Dieds* are yet extant, so that it is an impudent thing to say as some have done that they shook off his yoke at that time.

The Bishop hath yet reserved a Revenne of about one thousand pound sterling a year, and every one of the Prebendaries hath near two hundred pound a year. It is not easie to imagine out of what the riches of this Countrey is raised, for one sees nothing but a tract of vast Mountains that seem barren Rocks, and some little Vallies among them not a mile broad, and the best part of these is washed away by the *Rhine*, and some Brooks that fall into it: But their Wealth consists chiefly in their Hills, which afford much pasture, and in the hot months, in which all the Pasture of *Italy* is generally parched, the Cattle are driven into these Hills, which brings them in a Revenue of above two hundred thousand Crowns a year. The Publick is indeed very poor, but particular Persons are so rich, that I knew a great many there, who were believed to have Estates to the value of one hundred thousand Crowns. Mr.

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*Schovestein*, who is accounted the richest man in the Countrey, is believed to be worth a million, I mean of Livres. The Government here is purely a Commonwealth, for in the choice of their Magistrates every man that is above sixteen years old hath his voice, which is also the constitution of some of the small Cantons. The three leagues are, the league of the *Grisons*, that of the House of God, and that of the ten jurisdictions.

They believe that upon the incursions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, as some fled to the *Venetian* Islands, out of which arose that famous Commonwealth; so others came and sheltered themselves in those Valleys. They told me of an ancient Inscription lately found, of a Stone where on the one side is graven, *Omitto Rhetos Indomitos*, and *ne plus ultra* is on the other; which they pretend was made by *Julius Caesar*: the Stone on which this Inscription is, is upon one of their Mountains, but I did not pass that way, so I can make no judgment concerning it. After the first forming of this people, they were cast into little States, according to the different Valleys which they inhabited, and in which Justice was administered, and so they fell under the power of some little Princes that became severe Masters; but when they saw the example that the *Switzers* had set them, in shaking off the *Austrian* yoke above two hundred years agoe, they likewise combined to shake off theirs; onely some few of those small Princes used their authority better, and concurred with the people in shaking off the yoke, and so they are still parts of the body; only *Haldenstein* is an absolute Sovereignty; it is about two miles from *Coire* to the West, on the other side of the *Rhine*: the whole Territory is about half a mile long at the foot of the *Alpes*, where there is scarce any breadth. The authority of these Barons was formerly more absolute than it is now, for the

Subjects were their Slaves : but to keep together the little Village, they have granted them a power of making a list for their Magistrates, the persons being to be named by the Baron ; who hath also the right of pardoning, a right of coining, and every thing else that belongs to a Sovereign. I saw this little Prince in *Coire*, in an equipage not suitable to his quality, for he was in all points like a very ordinary Gentleman. There are three other Baronies that are members of the Diet, and subject to it ; the chief belonged to the Arch-Dukes of *Inchpruck*, the other two belong to Mr. *Schovenstein* and Mr. *de Mont* ; they are the Heads of those communities of which their Baronies are composed : they name the Magistrates out of the lists that are presented to them by their Subjects ; and they have the right of pardoning and of confiscations. That belonging to the House of *Austria* is the biggest, it hath five voices in the Diet, and it can raise twelve hundred men. One *Travers* bought it of the Emperour in the year 1679, he entered upon the rights of the ancient Barons, which were specified in an agreement that past between him and his Peasants, and was confirmed by the Emperour. *Travers* made many incroachments upon the privileges of his Subjects, who upon that made their complaints to the league ; but *Travers* would have the matter judged at *Inchpruck*, and the Emperour supported him in this pretension, and sent an Agent to the Diet : I was present when he had his audience, in which there was nothing but general Compliments. But the Diet stood firm to their constitution, and asserted that the Emperour had no authority to judge in that matter which belonged only to them, so *Travers* was forced to let his pretensions fall.

All the other parts of this State are purely Democratical : there are three different bodies or leagues, and every one of these are an intire Government, and the



the Assembly or Diet of the three leagues, is only a confederacy like the united Provinces or the Cantons. There are sixty seven voices in the general Diet, which are thus divided: the league of the *Grisons* hath twenty eight voices, that of the House of God hath twenty four, and that of the Jurisdictions hath fifteen. The Jurisdictions belonged anciently to the House of *Austria*, but they having shaken off that authority were incorporated into the Diet; but in the last Wars of *Germany*, the *Austrians* thought to have brought them again under their yoke, yet they defended their liberty with so much vigour that the *Austrians* it seems thought the conquest not worth the while, and that it would not quire the cost. They were affrighted by two extraordinary actions; in one Village which was quite abandoned by all the Men belonging to it, who left the Women in it, some hundreds as I was told were quartered, and were apprehensive of no danger from their Hostesses; but the Women intended to let their Husbands see that they were capable of contriving and executing a bold action; though it must be confest it was a little too rough and barbarous for the Sex: They entred into a combination to cut the throats of all the Souldiers at one time; the Woman that proposed this had four lodged with her, and she with her own hands dispatcht them all, and so did all the rest, not one Souldier escaping to carry away the news of so unheard of a rage. In another place a body of the *Austrians* came into a Valley that was quite abandoned, for the Men that had no Arms but their Clubs and Staves had got up to the Mountains; but they took their measures so well, and possessed themselves so of the passes, that they came down upon the Souldiers with so much fury that they defeated them quite, so that very few escaped; and it is certain that the subduing them would have proved a very hard work.

It.

It is true they are not in a condition to hold out long; the publick is so poor; so that though particular persons are extream rich, yet they have no publick revenue, but every man is concerned to preserve his liberty, which is more intire here than it is even in *Switzerland*; but this swells often too much, and throws them into great convulsions. The league of the *Grisons* is the first and most ancient, and it is composed of eight and twenty Communities, of which there are eighteen Papists, and the rest are Protestants; the Communities of the two Religions live neighbourly together, yet they do not suffer those of another Religion to live among them; so that every Community is entirely of the same Religion, and if any one changes he must go into another Community. Each Community is an entire State within it self, and all persons must meet once a year to chuse the Judge and his Assistants, whom they change or continue from year to year as they see cause. There is no difference made between Gentleman and Peasant, and the Tenant hath a vote as well as his Landlord, nor dare his Landlord use him ill when he votes contrary to his intentions, for the Peasants would look upon that as a common quarrel. An appeal lies from the Judge of the Community to the Assembly of the league, where all matters end; for there lies no appeal to the general Diet of the three leagues, except in matters that concern the conquered Countries, which belong in common to all the three. There is one chosen by the Deputies for the Assembly of the league, who is called the Head of the league, that can call them together as he sees cause, and can likewise bring a Cause that hath been once judged, to a second hearing. *Ilants* is the chief Town of this league where their Diet meets. The second league is that of the House of God, in which there are four and twenty Communities; the Burgomaster of *Coire* is always the

the Head of this league: This league is almost wholly Protestant, and the two Valleys of the upper and lower *Engedin* are pointed out by the Papists, as little less than Cannibals towards such Catholics as come among them; but Frier *Sfondrato*, Nephew to Pope *Gregory* the fourteenth, whose Mother the Marquess of *Bergeminero*, that was in *England*, hath married, found the contrary of all this to be true to his great regret. About eighteen year agoe he was believed to have wrought miracles, and he became so much in love with the Crown of Martyrdom, that he went through the *Engedin*, not doubting but he would find there that which he desired. His Brother had come sometime before into the Countrey to drink mineral Waters, and was well known to the Gentry, so some of these hearing of the Friars coming went and waited on him, and he was entertained by them in their Houses and conveyed through the Countrey, though he took all possible ways to provoke them; for he was often railing at their Religion, but to all that they made no answer, only they continued their civilities still; which did so enrage the warm Frier that he went to *Bormio*, and there (as was believed) he died of grief. An accident fell out five year agoe, that the people of the Countrey esteemed a sort of miracle. The Papists in their Processions go sometimes out of one Community into another, and when they pass through Protestant Communities they lower the Cross, and give over singing till they are again upon Popish ground; but then they went on bearing up the Cross, and singing as they went, upon which the Protestants stopt them, and would not suffer them to go on in that manner: they finding that they were not equal in number to the Protestants, sent to a Catholick Community and desired them to come to their assistance. Two thousand came, and by all appearance the dispute would have had a bloody issue;

issue : for the Protestants were resolved to maintain the rights of their Community, and the others were no less resolved to force their way : but an extraordinary thick mist arose, and through it the Papists fancied they saw a vast body of men, which was no other than a Wood : but terrified with the appearance of such a number they retired, and this saved a little battle that probably would not only have ended in the shedding much blood, but might have very much disordered the whole constitution and union of their leagues. The Papists of quality endeavour much to keep their people in order, but they acknowledged to my self, that the Protestants were much peaceabler than the Catholicks. The Jurisdictions have fifteen votes in the general Diet, yet they are generally called the ten Jurisdictions, and the greater part of them are likewise of the Religion, for upon the general computation of the three leagues, the Protestants are about two thirds. In their Diets there are three Tables, one in the middle, and two on either side ; at every Table sits the Head of the league and a Secretary near him, and from the Table there goes down Benches on both hands for the Deputies from the Communities of that league. They hold their Diets by turns in the chief Towns of the several leagues, and it happened be the turn of the House of God when I was there, so they met at *Coire*.

The three leagues have a conquered Countrey in *Italy* divided into three districts, the *Valtelline*, *Chavennes* and *Bormio*. When *John Galeasse* possessed himself of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and drove out *Barnabas*, *Mastinus* one of *Barnabas's* Sons, to whom his Father had given those three branches of the Dutchy of *Milan*, retired to *Coire*, and being hospitably received and entertained by the Bishop, when he died he gave his right to those Territories to the Cathedral of *Coire* : but here was a title without a force.

forceable to make it good. But when the Wars of *Italy* were on foot, the three leagues being much courted by both the Crowns, since they were Masters of the Passes by which either the *Switzers* or *Germans* could come into *Italy*, they resolved to lay hold on that opportunity : yet they had not zeal enough for their Bishop to engage deep upon his account, so they agreed with him to pay him such a revenue, and he transferred his title to them, and they were so considerable to the *Spaniards*, that without much adoe, they yielded those parcels of the Dutchy of *Milan* to them, and by this means they are possessed of them. Those accessions to this State are much better than the principal, for as certainly the *Valtelline* which is above forty miles long and two broad, is one of the richest Valleys in the World, in which there are three Harvests some years, so the *Chavennes* and *Bormio* are much preferable to the best Valleys of the *Grisons* ; yet the engagement that people have to their native homes appears signally here, since the *Grisons* have not forsaken their Country that they might situate themselves so advantageously: but they love their rugged Valleys, and think the safety they enjoy in them beyond the pleasures of their acquired Dominions, so they govern them by Bailiffs and Podesta's, and other Officers whom they send among them: and all the advantages that they draw from them, is that the Magistrates whom they send to govern them do enrich themselves as the Bailiffs in *Switzerland* do. All those Offices go round the several Communities who have the right of nomination in their turn. But if there is none of the Community proper for the employment, any one of another Community may buy of them the nomination for that turn, and the Community distribute among them the money that he gives them. The publick draws nothing out of those parts, except the Fines, which in  
some

some years amounts to no considerable sum, and ten or twelve thousand Crowns is thought a great deal to be raised out of them in a year, so that the Subjects live happy and free of all taxes, which made their last revolt appear the more extraordinary, and it was indeed the effect of a very surprising Bigotry, when a People under the gentlest yoke in the World, who had no other grievance, but that now and then their Magistrates were of another Religion, and that the Protestant Religion was tolerated amongst them, would therefore throw off their Masters, cut the throats of their Neighbours, and cast themselves into the hands of the *Spaniards*, who are the terriblest Masters in the World.

But to give a more particular relation of that matter, and to tell the circumstances which seem a little to lessen that rebellion and massacre, I must give an account of a part of this constitution that is very terrible, and which makes the greatest men in it to tremble: The *Peasants* come sometimes in great bodies, and demand a Chamber of Justice from the general Diet, and they are bound to grant it always when it is thus demanded, which comes about generally once in twenty years; commonly this tumult of the *Peasants* is set on by some of the Male-contented Gentry, and generally there are a great many sacrifices made. This Court is composed of ten Judges out of every league, and twenty Advocates, who manage such accusations as are presented to them, this Court is paramount to Law, and acts like a Court of Inquisition, they give the question and do every thing that they think necessary to discover the truth of such accusations as are presented to them, and the decisions of this Court can never be brought under a second review, though there is an exception to this, for about a hundred years ago one Court of Justice.

Justice reversed all that another had done, but  
 that is a single instance. The *Peasants* are in as  
 great a jealonsie of the *Spaniards*, as the *Switzers*  
 are of the *French*, and the good men among  
 them are extream sensible of a great dissolution of  
 morals that the *Spanish* service brings among them:  
 For there is a *Grison* Regiment kept still in pay  
 by the *Spaniards*, there are in it twelve Compa-  
 nies of fifty a piece, and the Captains have a thou-  
 sand Crowns pay, though they are not obliged to  
 attend upon the service: This is upon the matter a  
 pension paid under a more decent name to the most  
 considerable Men of the Countrey, and this is sha-  
 red among them without any distinction of Pro-  
 testant and Papist, and is believed to sway their Coun-  
 cels much. The *Peasants* are apt to take fire, and  
 to believe they are betrayed by those Pensioners of  
*Spain*, and when rumours are blown about among  
 them, they come in great numbers to demand a  
 Chamber of Justice, the common question that they  
 give, which is also used all *Switzerland* over, and  
 in *Geneva*, is that they tye the Hands of the sus-  
 pected person behind his back, and pull them up  
 to his Head, and so draw them about, by which  
 the Arms and chiefly the Shoulder-blades are dis-  
 jointed, and when a person put to the question con-  
 fesses his crime, and is upon that condemned to dye,  
 he is obliged to renew his confession upon oath at  
 the place of execution, and if he goes off from it  
 then, and saith that his confession was extorted by  
 the violence of the torture, he is put again to the  
 question: For this passes for a maxim that no man  
 must dye unless he confesseth himself guilty: Gene-  
 rally when the fury of demanding this Chamber is  
 spread among the people, the Gentry run away and  
 leave the whole matter in the power of the *Pea-*  
*sants*, for they know not where it will end, and so  
 the

the *Peasants* being named to be Judges, the Justice goes quick till some sacrifices appease the rage. Two years ago upon the sale of a Common to the Bishop of *Como*, to which he had an ancient pretension, the *Peasants* having no more the liberty of the Common, were enraged at their Magistrates, and a report was spread abroad, of which the first Author could never be discovered, that the *Spaniards* had sent a hundred thousand Crowns among them to corrupt all their Magistrates: upon this they were so set on fire, that it was generally thought there would have been many Sacrifices made to this fury: But the Gentry hapned to be then so much united, that there was none of them engaged among the *Peasants*, or that managed their rage: A Chamber of Justice was granted, but the matter was so ordered that it did not appear that any one was guilty, yet some that had dealt in that transaction were fined, not so much for any fault of theirs, as to raise a fund to pay the expences of the Chamber, and because they could not find colour enough to raise so much out of the fines, there was a fine of five hundred Livers laid on every one of the *Spanish* Companies. I hope this digression will not appear tedious to you, and the rather because you will soon see that it was a little necessary to open the matter of the Rebellion and Massacre in the *Valtelline*.

In the year 1618, there was a report set about, that the *Spaniards* had a treaty on foot to tear away the *Valtelline* from the leagues, this was supported by the Fort *Fuentes*, that the Governour of *Milan* was building upon the Lake of *Cimo*, near the *Valtelline*. There was one *Ganatz* a Minister, but a bloody and perfidious Man, that set on and managed the rage of the *Peasants*, and there was great reason to suspect some underhand dealing, though

he



then it which way he pleased. A Chamber of  
 Justice was appointed to sit at *Tessane*, which is a  
 considerable Town twelve miles from *Caire*, on the  
 way to *Italy*, near *Alta Rhetia*, which is a high  
 and small Hill, to which there is no access but on  
 one side, where there are yet the Ruines of a Castle  
 and a Church, and which they believe was the Pal-  
 ace of *Rhetus* the first Prince of the Countrey:  
 There was severe Justice done in this Chamber, a  
 Priest was put to the question, and so ill used that  
 he died in it, which is a crying thing among them.  
 The chief suspicion lay upon one *Pianta*, who be-  
 longed of one of the best Families of the *Grifons*, was  
 then one of the Captains in the *Spanish* Regiment;  
 he withdrew himself from the storm, but the *Pea-*  
*sants* led on by *Ganatz* pursued him so, that at last  
 they found him and hewed him in pieces, *Ganatz*  
 himself striking the first stroke with an Ax, which  
 was taken up and preserved by his Friends, and  
 four and twenty years after fifty or sixty of his  
 Friends fell upon *Ganatz* in *Caire*, and killed him  
 with the same Ax, which they brought along with  
 them, that they might execute their design by the  
 same tool with which their Friend was murdered.  
*Ganatz* had during the Wars abandoned both his  
 Religion and Profession, being indeed a disgrace to  
 both, and had served first in the *Venetian*, and then  
 in the *Spanish* Troops. After the peace was made he  
 became so considerable, being supported by the *Spa-*  
*nish* Faction, that he was chosen Governour of *Cha-*  
*vennes*, and was come over to *Caire* to a Diet, he  
 being then in so important a charge: But he was  
 so much hated, that though the murdering of a  
 Magistrate in Office, and at a publick Assembly in so  
 terrible a manner ought to have been severely  
 punished, yet no inquiry was made into the crime,  
 nor was any Man so much as questioned for it. In  
 that

that Chamber many that were put to the question confessed enough to hang them, some endured the question and escaped with the loss of the use of their Arms. Those of the *Valteline* have made use of this severity, as that which gave the rise to the Massacre, and it is very probable this might have drawn in some, that would have been otherwise more moderate, and that it did likewise precipitate that barbarous action: Yet it was afterwards found out that the Plot had been formed long before, so that the industry and rage of the Priests managed by *Spanish* Emissaries, working upon the Bigotry of the People was the real cause, and this was onely made use of as a pretext to give some more plausible colours to the Massacre, which was executed some months after this Chamber was dissolved. It began while the Protestants were at Church, there were some hundreds destroyed, the rest got all up to the Mountains, and so escaped into the Countrey of the *Grisons*, and those of *Chavennes* got likewise up to the Hills, for they are situated just at the bottom of them.

I shall not prosecute the rest of that War, the *French* saw of what advantage it was to them not to let this pass from *Italy* into *Germany*, fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*; so *Bassompierre* was sent to *Madrid*, and obtained a promise, that all things should be put in the same state in which they were before the year 1618, but when that order was sent to the Governour of *Milan*, it was plain he had secret orders to the contrary, for he refused to execute it: So a War followed, in which the *Grisons* found it was not easie for them to support the charge of it, without imploying the assistance of the *French*. But the *Spaniards* pretended to have no other interest in the affairs of the *Valteline* than the preservation of the Catholick Religion, and to shew their sincerity, they put the Countrey into the Pope's hands, know-

knowing that he could not preserve it but by their assistance, nor restore it without securing it from all change of Religion. The *French* willingly undertook the cause of the *Grisons*, and because the Duke of *Roban* was like to be the most favourable General, as being of the Religion, he was sent to command some Forces that marched thither : But he saw that if the *French* once made themselves Masters of the passes of the Countrey, it would turn to their ruine ; and finding the *Grisons* reposed an intire confidence in him, he thought it unbecoming him to be an instrument in that which he saw must be fatal to them. The *Spaniards* seeing the *French* ingage in the quarrel, and fearing lest they should possess themselves of the passes, offered to restore all the Territory in *Italy*, for *Chavennes* and *Bormio* had likewise revolted, only the Protestants got away so quick upon the disorders in the *Valtelline*, that they prevented the rage of the Priests. The *Spaniards* ask'd these conditions, that an Amnesty should be granted for what was past, that there should be no exercise of the Protestant Religion tolerated in the Countrey, and that even the Bailiffs and other Magistrates of the Religion, that came to be sent into the *Valtelline*, should have no exercise of their Religion, and as for other persons that none of the Religion might stay above six weeks at a time in the Countrey.

The Duke of *Roban* seeing that conditions of so much advantage to the leagues were offered to them, did underhand advise those of the Religion to accept of them, at the same time that he seemed openly to oppose the treaty set on foot on those terms, and that he might get out of this employment with the less dishonour, he advised their clapping him up in prison till they had finished their treaty with the *Spaniards*. So that they very gratefully to this day own that they owe the preservation of their Countrey to the wise advices

vices of that great Man. Many that were of the Religion returned to their Houses and Estates, but the greatest part fearing such another Massacre, have since changed their Religion, others have sold their Estates and left the Country; some stay still and go two or three hours journey to some of the Protestant Communities, where they have the exercise of their Religion: And though they may not stay in the *Valtellina* above six weeks at a time, yet they avoid that by going for a day or two out of the Country once within that time, nor is that matter at present so severely examined, so that there is a culti among them as to those matters. But when it comes to the turn of the Protestant Communities to send one of the Religion to those employments, he is often much embarrassed by the Bishop of *Como*, to whose Diocese those Territories belong, for if the Bishop fancies that they do any thing contrary to the Ecclesiastical immunities, he excommunicates them; and though this may appear a ridiculous thing, since they are already in a worse state by being Hereticks, yet it produces a very sensible effect, for the people that are extremely superstitious, will not after that come near such Magistrates, so that about three year agoe a Bailiff found himself obliged to desire to be recalled, though his time was not out, since being excommunicated he could no longer maintain the Government in his own person.

Among the *Grisons* the *Roman Law* prevails, modified a little by their Customs: one that was a little particular was executed when I was there. A Man that hath an Estate by his Wife enjoys it after her death as long as he continues a Widower, but when he marries again he is bound to divide it among the Children that he had by her. The Justice is short and simple, but it is oft thought that bribes goe here, though but meanly in proportion to their poverty, as well as in other places. The married Women here

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do scarce appear abroad except at Church, but the young Women have more liberty before they are married. There is such a plenty of all things by reason of the gentleness of the Government and the industry of the people, that in all the ten days in which I staid at *Coire*, I was but once asked an alms in the streets. There are two Churches in *Coire*, in the one there is an Organ that joins with their voices in the singing of the Psalms, and there was for the honour of the Diet, while we were there, an Anthem sung by a set of Musicians very regularly. In all the Churches both of *Switzerland* and the *Grisons*, except in this only the Minister preaches covered, but here he is bare-headed. And I observed a particular devotion used here in saying of the Lord's Prayer, that the Ministers, who wear Caps, put them off when this was said. The Women here as in *Bern* turn all to the East in time of Prayer, and also in their private devotions before and after the publick Prayers: many also bow at the name of *Jesus*. They Christen discovering the whole Head, and pouring the Water on the Hind-head, using a trine asperision, which is also the practice of the *Switzers*. It was matter of much edification to see the great numbers both here and all *Switzerland* over that come every day to Prayers morning and evening. They give here in the middle of the Prayer a good interval of silence for the private devotions of the assembly. The Schools here go not above Latin, Greek and Logick, and for the rest they send their Children to *Zurich* or *Basil*. The Clergy here are very meanly provided; for most part they have nothing but the benevolence of their people: they complained much to me of a great coldness in their people in the matters of Religion, and of a great corruption in their morals. The commons are extream insolent, and many crimes go unpunished, if the persons that commit them have either

great

great credit or much money. The poor Ministers here are under a terrible slavery; for the *Grisons* pretend that in all times they had not only the patronage of their Churches, but a power to dismiss their Church-men as they saw cause. How it is among the Papists I cannot tell, but the Dean of the Synod of the House of God told me they had an ill custom of ordaining their Ministers without a Title, upon an examination of their qualifications and abilities, which took them up generally six or seven hours, and when this tryal was thus dispatched, if the person was found qualified they ordained him: and it was too ordinary for those that were thus ordained to endeavour to undermine the Ministers already in employment, if their people grew disgusted at them, or as they became disabled by age, and often the interest and kindred of the intruder carried the matter against the Incumbent without any colour or pretence, and in that case the Synod was bound to receive the intruder. In one half of the Countrey they preach in high Dutch, and in the other half in a corrupt Italian, which they call Romanish, that is a mixture of French and Italian. In every league they have a Synod, and as the people chuse their Ministers, so in imitation of the *Switzers*, every Synod chuses their Antistes or Superintendant, he is called the Dean among the *Grisons*, and hath a sort of an Episcopal power, but he is accountable to the Synod: The Office is for life, but the Synod upon great cause given may make a change. The people of this Countrey are much more lively than the *Switzers*, and they begin to have some tincture of the Italian temper. They are extream civil to strangers, but it seems in all Commonwealths Inn-keepers think they have a right to exact upon strangers, which one finds here as well as in *Holland* or in *Switzerland*.

I shall conclude what I have to say concerning the *Grisons* with a very extraordinary story, which I had both from the Ministers of *Coire* and several other Gentlemen, that saw in *April* 1685, about five hundred persons of different sexes and ages that past through the Town, who gave this account of themselves. They were the Inhabitants of a Valley in *Tirol*, belonging for the greatest part to the Archbishoprick of *Salzburg*, but some of them were in the Dioceses of *Trent* and *Bresse*, they seemed to be a remnant of the old *Waldenses*, they worshipped neither Images nor Saints, and they believed the Sacrament was only a commemoration of the death of Christ, and in many other points they had their peculiar opinions different from those of the Church of *Rome*; they knew nothing neither of *Lutherians* nor *Calvinists*; and the *Grisons*, though their Neighbours, had never heard of this nearness of theirs to the Protestant Religion. They had *Mass* said among them, but some years since some of the Valley going over *Germany* to earn somewhat by their labour, happened to go into the Palatinate, where they were better instructed in matters of Religion, and these brought back with them into the Valley the *Heidelberg* Catechism, together with some other *German* Books, which run over the Valley, and they being before that in a good disposition, those Books had such an effect upon them, that they gave over going to *Mass* any more, and began to worship God in a way more suitable to the rules set down in Scripture, some of their Priests concurred with them in this happy change, but others that adhered still to the *Mass*, went and gave the Archbishop of *Salzburg* an account of it, upon which he sent some into the Countrey to examine the truth of the matter, to exhort them to return to *Mass*, and to threaten them with all severity, if they continued obstinate: so they seeing a terrible storm ready to

break upon them, resolved to abandon their Houses and all they had, rather than sin against their consciences: and the whole Inhabitants of the Valley old and young, Men and Women, to the number of two thousand, divided themselves into several bodies; some intended to goe to *Brandenburg*, others to the *Palatinate*, and about five hundred took the way to *Coire*, intending to disperse themselves in *Switzerland*. The Ministers told me they were much edified with their simplicity and modesty, for a collection being made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way. From *Coire* we went to *Tossane*, and from that through the way that is justly called *Via Mala*. It is through a bottom between two Rocks, through which the *Rhine* runs, but under ground for a great part of the way. The way is cut out in the middle of the Rock in some places; and in several places, the steepness of the Rock being such, that a way could not be cut out, there are beams driven into it, over which boards and earth are laid: this way holds an hour. After that there is for two hours good way, and we past through two considerable Villages; there is good lodging in both; from thence there is for two hours journey terrible way, almost as bad as the *Via mala*; then an hour journey good way to *Splugen*, which is a large Village of above two hundred Houses that are well built, and the Inhabitants seem all to live at their ease, though they have no sort of soil but a little meadow ground about them: This is the last Protestant Church that was in our way; it was well endowed, for the provision of the Minister was near two hundred Crowns. Those of this Village are the Carriers between *Italy* and *Germany*, so they drive a great Trade, for there is here a perpetual carriage going and coming; and we were told that there pass generally a hundred Horses through this Town one day



day with another; and there are above five hundred carriage Horse that belong to this Town. From this place we went mounting for three hours till we got to the top of the Hills, where there is onely one great Inn. After that the way was tolerably good for two hours, and for two hours there is constant descent, which for the most part is as steep as if we were all the while going down stairs. At the foot of this is a little Village, called *Campdolcin*; and here we found we were in *Italy*, both by the vast difference of the climate; for whereas we were freezing on the other side, the heat of the Sun was uneasy here, and also by the number of the Beggars, though it may seem the reverse of what one ought to expect, since the richest Countrey of *Europe* is full of Beggars; and the *Grisons* that are one of the poorest states have no Beggars at all. One thing is also strange, that among the *Grisons*, the rich Wine of the *Valceline*, after it is carried three days journey, is sold cheaper than the Wine of other Countries where it grows at the door: but there are no Taxes nor Impositions here. From *Campdolcin* there is 3 hours Journey to *Chavennes*, which is very pleasantly situated at the very foot of the Mountains, there runs through the Town a pleasant little River: It is nobly built, and hath a great many rich Vineyards about it, and the rebound of the Sunbeams from the Mountains doth so increase the heats here, that the soil is as rich here as in any place of *Italy*. Here one begins to see a Noble Architecture in a great many Houses; in short all the marks of a rich Soil and a free Government appear here. The Town stood a little more to the North, about five hundred year ago, but a Slice of the Alps came down upon it, and buried it quite, and at the upper end of the Town there are some Rocks that look like ruines; about which there hath been a very extraordinary expence to divide them one from another, and to make them fit

Places for Forts, and Castles : the marks of the tools appeared all over the Rock in one place. I measured the breadth of the one from the other, which is twenty foot, the length is four hundred and fifty foot, and as we could guess the Rock was two hundred foot high, cut down on both sides in a line as even as a wall towards the top of one the name *Salvius* is cut in great Letters a little Gothick. On the tops of those Rocks which are inaccessible, except on the one side, and to that the ascent is extream uneasy, they had Garrisons during the Wars of the *Valtelline* : there were fifteen hundred in Garrison in that which is in the middle : There falls down frequently slices from the Hills that do extreamly fatten the ground which they cover, so that it becomes fruitfull beyond expression, and I saw a Lime-Tree that was planted eight and thirty years ago, in a piece of ground which had been so covered, that was two fathom and a half of compass. On both sides of the River, the Town and the Gardens belonging to it, cover the whole bottom that lies between the Hills, and at the roots of the Mountains they dig great Cellars, and Grottoes, and strike a Hole about a foot square, ten or twelve foot into the Hill, which all the Summer long blows a fresh Air into the Cellar, so that the Wine in those Cellars drinks almost as cold as if it were in Ice ; but this Wind-pipe did not blow when I was there, which was towards the end of *September* : For the Sun opening the pores of the Earth, and rarifying the exterior Air, that which is compressed within the cavities that are in the Mountains, rushes out with a constant Wind ; but when the operation of the Sun is weakened, this course of the Air is less sensible. Before or over those Vaults they build little pleasant Rooms like Summer-houses, and in them they go to Collation generally at night in Summer. I never saw bigger Grapes than grow there, there is one sort bigger

bigger than the biggest Damascen Plums that we have in England.

There is a sort of Wine here, and in the *Valtelline*, which I never heard named any where else, that is called *Aromarick Wine*, and as the taste makes one think it must be a composition, for it tastes like a Strong-water drawn off of Spices, so its strength being equal to a weak Brandy, disposes one to believe that it cannot be a natural Wine, and yet it is the pure juice of the Grape without any mixrure. The Liquor being singular, I informed my self particularly of the way of preparing it: the Grapes are red, though it drinks white; they let the Grapes hang on the Vines till *November*, that they are extream ripe, then they carry them to their Garréts, and set them all upright on their ends, by one another for two or three months, then they pick all the Grapes and throw away those in which there is the least appearance of rottenness, so that they press none but sound Grapes: after they are pressed they put the Liquour in an open Vessel in which it throws up a scum, which they take off twice a day, and when no more scum comes up, which according to the difference of the season is sooner or later, for sometimes the scum comes no more after eight days, and at other times it continues a fortnight, then they put it in a close Vessel; for the first year it is extream sweet and luscious, but at the end of the year they pierce it a little higher than the middle of the Vessel, almost two thirds from the bottom, and drink it off till it cometh so low, and then every year they fill it up a new: once a year in the month of *March* it ferments, and cannot be drunk till that is over, which continues a month, but their other Wine ferments not at that time. *Madam Salis* a Lady of that Countrey who entertain'd us three days with a magnificence equal to what can be done in *London*, or *Paris*, had Wine of this composition

that was forty years old, and was so very strong that one could hardly drink above a spoonfull, and it tasted high of Spicery, though she assured me there was not one grain of Spice in it, nor of any other mixture whatsoever. Thus the heat that is in this Wine, becomes a fire and distills it self, throwing up the more spirituous parts of it to the top of the Hoga-head.

Both here and in the *Grisons* the meat is very juicy, and the Fowl is excellent, their Roots and Herbs very tastfull, but the Fish of their Lakes is beyond any thing I ever saw. They live in a great simplicity as to their habit and furniture, but they have plenty of all things, and are extream rich, the Family where we were so nobly entertained is believed to have about two hundred thousand Crowns: Here the *Italian* custom of one onely of a Family that marries takes place generally. There is a sort of Pots of Stone that is used not onely in all the Kitchens here, but almost all *Lombardy* over, called *Lavege*, the Stone feels oily and scaly, so that a scale sticks to ones Finger that touches it, and is somewhat of the nature of a slate, there are but three Mines of it known in these parts, one near *Chavennes*, another in the *Valtelline*, and the third in the *Grisons*, but the first is much the best, they generally cut it in the Mine round, of about a foot and a half Diameter, and about a foot and a quarter thick, and they work it in a Mill, where the Chizzels that cut the Stone are driven about by a Wheel that is set a going by Water, and which is so ordered that he who manages the Chizzel, very easily draws forward the Wheel out of the course of the Water; they turn off first the outward coat of this Stone till it is exactly smooth, and then they separate one Pot after another by those small and hooked Chizzels, by which they make a nest of Pots all one within

in another, the outward and biggest being as big as an ordinary Beef-pot, and the inward Pot being no bigger than a small Pipkin; these they arm with hooks and Circles of brass, and so they are served by them in their Kitchens. One of these Stone-pots takes heat and boils sooner than any Pot of Mettle; and whereas the bottoms of Mettle-pots transmit the heat so intirely to the Liqueur within, that they are not insufferably hot, the bottom of this Stone-pot which is about twice so thick as a Pot of Mettle, burns extreemly; it never cracks, neither gives it any sort of taste to the Liqueur that is boiled in it, but if it falls to the ground it is very brittle, yet this is repaired by patching it up, for they peeces their broken Pots so close though without any cement, by sowing with Iron-wire the broken parcels together, that in the holes which they pierce with the wire there is not the least breach made, except that which the wire both makes and fills. The passage to this Mine is very inconvenient, for they must creep into it for near half a mile through a Rock that is so hard that the passage is not above three foot high, and so those that draw out the Stones creep all along upon their belly, having a Candle fastned in their forehead, and the Stone laid on a sort of Cushion made for it upon their hips: The Stones are commonly two hundred weight.

But having mentioned some falls of Mountains in those parts, I cannot pass by the extraordinary fare of the Town of *Pleurs*, that was about a league from *Chavennes* to the North in the same bottom, but on a ground that is a little more raised: The Town was half the bigness of *Chavennes*, the number of the Inhabitants was about two and twenty hundred persons, but it was much more nobly built; for besides the great Palace of the *Francken*, that cost some millions, there were many other Palaces

that were built by several rich Factours both of *Milan* and the other parts of *Italy*, who liked the situation and air as well as the freedom of the Government of this place, so they used to come hither during the heats, and here they gave themselves all the indulgences that a vast wealth could furnish. By one of the Palaces that was a little distant from the Town, which was not overwhelmed with it, one may judge of the rest: It was an out-house of the Family of the *Francken*, and yet it may compare with many Palaces in *Italy*; and certainly Houses and Gardens could not cost so little as one hundred thousand Crowns. The voluptuousness of this place became very crying, and *Madam de Salis* told me that she heard her Mother often relate some passages of a Protestant Ministers Sermons that preached in a little Church which those of the Religion had there, and warned them often of the terrible judgments of God which were hanging over their heads, and that he believed would suddenly break out upon them. On the 25th. of *August* 1618, an Inhabitant came and told them to be gone, for he saw the Mountains cleaving, but he was laughed at for his pains: He had a Daughter whom he perswaded to leave all and go with him; but when she was gone out of Town with him, she called to mind that she had not locked the Door of a Room in which she had some things of value, and so she went back to do that and was buried with the rest; for at the hour of Supper the Hill fell down and buried the Town and all the Inhabitants, so that not one person escaped: The fall of the Mountains did so fill the Channel of the River, that the first news those of *Chavennes* had of it was by the failing of their River, for three or four hours there came not a drop of Water, but the River wrought for it self a new course and returned to them,

them. I could hear no particular character of the Man who escaped, so I must leave the secret reason of so singular a preservation to the great discovery at the last day of those steps of divine providence that are now so unaccountable. Some of the Family of the *Fræncken* got some Miners to work under ground to find out the wealth that was buried in their Palace; for besides their Plate and furniture there was a great Cash and many Jewels in the House: the Miners pretended they could find nothing, but they went to their Countrey of *Tirol*, and built fine Houses and a great wealth appeared, of which no other visible account could be given but this, that they had found some of that treasure. The chief Factours of *Italy* have been *Grisons*, and they told me that as the Trade of Banking began in *Lombardy*, so that all *Europe* over a *Lombard* and a Bank signified the same thing, so the great Bankers of *Lombardy* were *Grisons*, and to this day the *Grisons* drive a great Trade in money; for a Man there of a hundred thousand Crowns Estate hath not perhaps a third part of this within the Countrey, but puts it out in the neighbouring States: And the liberty of the Countrey is such, that the Natives when they have made up Estates elsewhere, are glad to leave even *Italy* and the best parts of *Germany*, and to come and live among those Mountains, of which the very sight is enough to fill a Man with horror.

From *Chavennes* we went for two hours through a Plane to the Lake of *Chavennes*, which is almost round, and is about two miles Diameter. This Lake falls into the Lake of *Como* over against the Fort *Fuertes*; when we passed there the Water was so low that the Boat could not easily get over a Bank that lay between the two Lakes. The Lake of *Como* is about eight and forty miles long and four broad, it runs between two ranges of Hills: I did not stay long enough

though in *Como* to give any description of it, for I thought to have returned that way from a little Tower that I made into the Bailiages that the *Switzers* have in *Italy*, of *Lugano*, *Locarno* and *Bellinzona*: But I took another course so I saw nothing in *Como*; the best thing in it is a fine Chappel, which the present Pope who is a native of *Como* is building. From *Como* we went eight miles to *Codelago*, which belongs to the *Switzers*, and from thence to *Lugano* we had eight miles of Lake: This Lake doth not run in an even current as the other Lakes that rise under the *Alps*; but the situation of the Hills about it throws it into several courses.

The *Switzers* have here several little Provinces or Bailiages, of which during the Wars of *Italy*, between the Dukes of *Milan* and the two Crowns in *France* the first, and *Charles* the fifth's time, they possessed themselves as a pledge for payment of their arrears, and they were then such considerable allies, that they made both the Competitors for the Duchy of *Milan* court them by turns, and became the peaceable possessors of almost all that tract that lies between the Lake of *Como* to the Countrey of the *Valeffis* or the Valleys. The Inhabitants here are so well used, they live so free of all impositions, and the *Switzers* Government is so gentle, that here I must tell you another paradox, this is the worst Countrey, the least productive, the most exposed to cold, and the least capable of Trade of all *Italy*, and yet it is by far the best peopled of any that I saw in all *Italy*: There belongs to the Bailiage of *Lugano* alone ninety nine Villages, of which a great many are very large, and all are full of people. The twelve ancient Cantons have their turns of all the Bailiages and other Offices here: But when it comes to the turn of those of the Religion, their Bailiffs must be contented with private devotions in their own House, but can have



have no publick exercises, nor so much as a Minister in their Houses. For here as in the *Valtelline* when the *Spaniards* confirmed the right of the *Cantons* to those Territories, they made an expresse provision, that no Religion except the *Popish* should be tolerated here; so that the Bailiff who is the Prince often hath not the free liberty of his Religion in these parts. The Bailiffs here make their advantages as well as in the other parts of *Switzerland*, but yet with more caution, for they take great care not to give the natives any distast, though the miseries to which they see all their Neighbours exposed, and the abundance and liberty in which they live should by all appearance deliver their Masters from any great apprehensions of a revolt: A great many *Mechanicks* of all sorts live in these parts, who go all Summer long over *Italy*, and come back hither with what they have gained, and live free of all taxes. I was told that some Nephews of Popes, in particular the *Barberines* had treated with the *Switzers* to buy this Countrey from them, and so to erect it into a principality, and that they had resolved to offer twelve thousand Crowns to the twelve *Cantons*, but they found it would certainly be rejected so they made not the proposition to the Diet of the *Cantons* as they once intended, and it is certain whensoever this Countrey is brought under a yoke like that which the rest of *Italy* bears it will be soon abandoned, for there is nothing that draws so many people to live in so ill a soil, when they are in sight of the best soil of *Europe*, but the easiness of the Government. From *Lugane* I went to the *Lago Maggiore*, which is a great and noble Lake, it is six and fifty miles long, and in most places six miles broad, and a hundred fathom deep; about the middle of it, it makes a great Bay to the Westward, and there lies here two Islands called

led the *Borromean* Islands, that are certainly the loveliest spots of ground in the World, there is nothing in all *Italy* that can be compared to them; they have the full view of the Lake, and the ground rises so sweetly in them that nothing can be imagined like the Terrasses here, they belong to two Counts of the *Borromean* Family. I was onely in one of them which belongs to the head of the Family, who is Nephew to the Cardinal known by the name of *S. Carlo*: On the West-end lies the Palace, which is one of the best of *Italy*, for the lodgings within, though the Architecture is but ordinary, there is one noble apartment above four and twenty foot high, and there is a vast addition making to it, and here is a great collection of noble Pictures beyond any thing I saw out of *Rome*: The whole Island is a Garden except a little corner to the South set off for a Village of about forty little Houses, and because the figure of the Island was not made regular by nature, they have built great Vaults and Portico's along the Rock, which are all made Grottoe's, and so they have brought it to a regular form by laying Earth over those Vaults. There is first a Garden to the East that rises up from the Lake by five rows of Terrasses, on the three sides of the Garden that are watered by the Lake, the Stairs are noble, the Walls are all covered with Oranges and Citrons, and a more beautiful spot of a Garden cannot be seen: There are two buildings in the two corners of this Garden, the one is onely a Mill for fetching up the Water, and the other is a noble Summer-house all wainscotted, if I may speak so, with Alabaster and Marble of a fine colour inclining to red; from this Garden one goes in a level to all the rest of the Alleys and Parterres, Herb-Gardens and Flower-Gardens, in all which there are varieties of Fountains and Arbours,

but

But the great Partery is a surprizing thing; for as it is well furnished with Statues and Fountains, and is of a vast extent; and justly situated to the Palace; so at the farther end of it there is a great Mount, the face of it that looks to the Partery is made like a Theatre all full of Fountains and Statues, the height rising up in five several rows, it being about fifty foot high, and about fourscore foot in front, and round this Mount answering to the five rows into which the Theatre is divided, there goes as many Terrasses of noble walks, the Walls are all as close covered with Oranges and Citrons as any of our Walls in *England* are with Laurel: The top of the Mount is seventy foot long and forty broad, and here is a vast Cistern into which the Mill plays up the Water that must furnish all the Fountains: The Fountains were not quite finished when I was there, but when all is finished this place will look like an enchanted Island. The freshness of the Air, it being both in a Lake and near the Mountains, the fragrant smell, the beaurifull prospect, and the delighting variety that is here makes it such a habitation for Summer, that perhaps the whole World hath nothing like it. From this I went to *Sestio*, a miserable Village at the end of the Lake, and here I began to feel a mighty change being now in *Lombardy*, which is certainly the beautifullest Countrey that can be imagined, the ground lies so even, it is so well watered, so sweetly divided by rows of Trees inclosing every piece of ground of an Acre or two Acres compass, that it cannot be denied that here is a vast extent of soil above two hundred miles long, and in many places a hundred miles broad, where the whole Countrey is equal to the loveliest spots in all *England* or *France*, it hath all the sweetness that *Holland* or *Flanders* have, but with a warmer Sun and a better Air, the Neighbourhood.

bour-hood of the Mountains causes a freshness of Air here, that makes the soil of the most desirable place to live in that can be seen, if the Government were not so excessively severe, that there is nothing but poverty over all this rich Countrey. A Traveller in many places finds almost nothing, and is so ill furnished, that if he doth not buy provisions in the great Towns, he will be obliged to a very severe Diet, in a Countrey that he should think flow-  
ed with Milk and Honey: But I shall say more of this hereafter. The *Lago Maggiore* discharges it self in the River *Tesino*, which runs with such a force that we went thirty miles in three hours, having but one Rower, and the Water was no way swelled. From this we went into the Canal which *Francis* the first cut from this River to the Town of *Milan*, which is about thirty foot broad, and on both its banks there are such provisions to discharge the Water when it rises to such a height, that it can never be fuller of Water than is intended it should be; it lies also so even that sometimes for six miles together one sees the line so exact that there is not the least crook: It is thirty miles long, and is the best advantage that the Town of *Milan* hath for Water-carriage.

I will not entertain you with a long description of this great City, which is one of the noblest in the World, to be an Inland Town that hath no great Court, no commerce either by Sea or any Navigable River, and that is now the *Metropolis* of a very small State; for that which is not Mountainous in this State, is not above sixty miles square, and yet it produces a wealth that is surprizing: It pays for an establishment of seven and forty thousand men, and yet there are not sixteen thousand Souldiers effectively in it, so many are eat up by those in whose hands the Government is lodged: But the vastness of the Town, the nobleness

nobleness of the Buildings, and above all the surprising riches of the Churches and Convents are signs of great wealth: The Dome hath nothing to commend it of Architecture, it being built in the rude Gothick manner, but for the vastness and riches of the building, it is equal to any in *Italy*, *S. Peter's* it self not excepted. It is all marble, both Pavement and Walls, both outside and inside, and on the top it is all flagg'd with marble; and there is the vastest number of Niches for Statues of marble, both within and without, that are any where to be seen. It is true the Statues in some of the Niches are not proportioned to the Niches themselves; the Frontispiece is not yet made, it is to be all over covered with Statues and Bas Reliefs; and the Pillars of which there are four rows in the body of the Church, have each of them eight Niches at the top for so many Statues; and though one would think this Church so full of Statues, that almost every Saint hath his Statue, yet I was assured they wanted seven thousand to finish the design, but these must chiefly belong to the Frontispiece. The Church, as I could measure it by walking over it in an equal pace, is five hundred foot long, and two hundred wide; the Quire is wainscotted and carved in so extraordinary a manner, that I never saw Passion so well expressed in Wood; it contains sixty stalls, and they have almost all the Histories of the Gospel represented in them. Just under the *Cupulo* lies *S. Carlo's* body, as I was told, in a great case of Cryстал of vast value, but I could not come near it; for we were there on two Holydays, and there was a perpetual crowd about it; and the superstition of the people for his body is such, that on a Holiday one runs a hazzard that comes near it without doing some reverence. His Canonization cost the Town a hundred thousand Crowns, ; they pretend they have miracles too,

too, for Cardinal *Frederigo Borromeo*; but they will not set about his Canonization, the price is so high: The Plate and other presents made to *S. Carlo* are things of a prodigious value: some services for the Altar are all of Gold, some very massive and set with Jewels, others so finely wrought that the fashion is thought equal to the value of the mettle: the Habits and all the other Ornaments for the Function of his Canonization are all of an incredible wealth. He was indeed a Prelat of great merit, and according to the answer that a Friar made to *Philip de Comines*, when he asked him how they came to qualifie one of the worst of their Princes with the Title of Saint in an Inscription which he read, which was that they gave that Title to all their Benefactors; never man deserved of a Town this Title so justly as Cardinal *Borromeo* did, for he laid out a prodigious wealth in *Milan*, leaving nothing to his Family, but the honour of having produced so great a Man, which is a real temporal inheritance to it; for as there have been, since that time, two Cardinals of that Family, so it is esteemed a *Casa Santa*; and every time that it produces an Ecclesiastick of any considerable merit, he is sure, if he lives to it, to be raised to this Archbishoprick; for if there were one of the Family capable of it; and that did not carry it, that alone might dispose the State to a rebellion, and he were a bold man that would adventure on a competition with one of this Family. He laid out a great deal on the Dome and consecrated it, though the work will not be quite finished yet for some Ages, that being one of the crafts of the *Italian* Priests never to finish a great design, that so by keeping it still in an unfinished estate, they may be always drawing great donatives to it, from the superstition of the people. He built the Archbishops Palace, which is very noble, and a Seminary, a College for the *Switzers*, several Parish Churches,

and

and many Convents. In short the whole Town is full of the marks of his wealth. The Riches of the Churches of *Milan* strike one with amazement, the Building, the Painting, the Altars, and the Plate, and every thing in the Convents, except their Libraries, are all signs both of great Wealth and of a very powerfull Superstition; but their Libraries not onely here, but all *Italy* over are scandalous things, the Room is often fine and richly adorned, but the Books are few, ill bound, and worse chosen; and the ignorance of the Priests both Secular and Regular is such, that no man that hath not had occasion to discover it, can easily believe it. The Convent of *S. Victor* that is without the Town, is by much the richest; it is composed of Canons Regular, called in *Italy* the Order of *Mount Olive*, or *Olivetian*. That of the *Bernabites* is extream rich, there is a Pulpit and a Confessional all inlaid with Agats of different colours, finely spotted Marbles, and of *Lapis Lazuli* that are thought almost inestimable. *S. Laurence* has a noble Cupulso, and a Pulpit of the same form with that of the *Bernabites*. The Jesuits, the *Theatines*, the *Dominicans*, and *St. Sebastians* are very rich. The *Cittadel* is too well known to need a description, it is very regularly built, and is a most effectual restraint to keep the Town in order, but it could not stand out against a good Army three days; for it is so little, and so full of buildings, that it could not resist a shower of Bombs. The Hospital is indeed a Royal Building, I was told it had ninety thousand Crowns Revenue: The old Court is large, and would look noble if it were not for the new Court that is near it, which is two hundred and fifty foot square, and there are three rows of Corridors or Galleries all round the Court one in every stage according to the *Italian* manner, which makes the lodgings very convenient, and gives a Gallery before every door: It is true these take up  
a great

a great deal of the Building, being ordinarily eight or ten foot broad; but then here is an open space that is extream cool on that side where the Sun doth not not lie, for it is all open to the Air, the Wall being onely supported by Pillars, at the distance of fifteen or twenty foot one from another. In this Hospital there are not onely Galleries full of Beds on both sides, as is ordinary in all Hospitals; but there are also a great many Chambers in which persons whose condition was formerly distinguished are treated with a particular care. There is an out-house which is called the *Lazarette*, that is without the Walls, which belongs to this Hospital, it is an exact quarter of a mile square, and there are three hundred and sixty Rooms in it, and a Gallery runs all along before the Chambers, so that as the service is convenient, the sick have a covered walk before their Doors. In the middle of this vast square there is an Octangular Chappel, so contrived that the sick from all their Beds may see the elevation of the Hosty and adore it: This House is for the Plague, or for infectious Feavers, and the sick that want a freer Air, are also removed hither.

As for the devotions of this place, I saw here the *Ambrosian* Office, which is distinguished from the *Roman*, both in the Musick which is much simpler, and in some other rites: the Gospel is read in a high Pulpit at the lower end of the Quire, that so it may be heard by all the people, though this is needless, since it is read in a language that they do not understand: when they go to say high Mass, the Priests comes from the high Altar to the lower end of the Quire, where the Offertory of the Bread and the Wine is made by some of the Laity, they were Nuns that made it when I was there, I heard a *Capucin* Preach here; it was the first Sermon I heard in *Italy*, and I was much surprized at many Comical expressions



ons and gestures, but most of all with the conclusion; for there being in all the Pulpits of *Italy*, a Crucifix on the side of the Pulpit towards the Altar; he, after a long address to it, at last in a forced transport, took it in his Arms and hugged it and kissed it: But I observed that before he kiss'd it; he seeing some dust on it, blew it off very carefully, for I was just under the Pulpit: He entertained it with a long and tender caress, and held it out to the people, and would have forced tears both from himself and them, yet I saw none shed. But if the Sermon in the morning surprized me, I wondered no less at two discourses that I heard in one Church, at the same time, in the afternoon: for there were two bodies of men set down in different places of the Church all covered, and two Lay-men in ordinary habits were entertaining them with discourses of Religion in a Catechetical stile: These were Confrairies, and those were some of the more devout that instructed the rest. This I never saw any where also, so I do not know whether it is peculiar to *Milan* or not. My Conductor could not speak Latine, and the Italian there is so different from the true Tuscan, which I onely knew, that I could not understand him when he was engaged in a long discourse, so I was not clearly informed of this matter; but I am apt to think it might have been some institution of *Cardinal Borromees*. The *Ambrosian* Library founded by *Cardinal Frederick Borromee* is a very noble Room and well furnished, only it is too full of Schoolmen and Canonists, which are the chief studies of *Italy*, and it hath too few Books of a more solid and usefull learning. One part of the disposition of the Room was pleasant, there is a great number of Chairs placed all round it at a competent distance from one another, and to every Chair there belongs a Desk with an Escriptory that hath Pen, Ink and Paper in it, so that every man finds tools

tools here for such extracts as he would make. There is a little Room of Manuscripts at the end of the great Gallery, but the Library-keeper knows little of them, a great many of them relate to their Saint *Charles*. I saw some fragments of Latine Bibles, but none seemed to be above six hundred years old, there are also some fragments of St. *Ambrose's* works, and of St. *Jerom's* Epistles that are of the same antiquity. I was sorry not to find St. *Ambrose's* works entire, that I might have seen whether the Books of the Sacrament are ascribed to him in ancient Copies, for perhaps they belong to a more modern Author. It is true in these Books the doctrine of a sort of a corporal presence is asserted in very high expressions; but there is one thing mentioned in them, which is stronger against it than all those citations can be for it; for the Author gives us the formal words of the Prayer of consecration in his time, which he prefaces with some solemnity: Will you know how the change is wrought, hear the Heavenly words? For the Priest saith, but whereas in the present Canon of the Mass, the prayer of consecration is for a good part of it very near in the same words with those which he mentions, there is one essential difference, for in the Canon they now pray that the Hosty may be to them the Body and Blood of Christ: (which by the way doth not agree too well with the notion of Transubstantiation, and approacheth more to the doctrine of the Lutherians: ) whereas in the Prayer, cited by that Author, the Hosty is said to be the figure of the Body and Blood of Christ: here is the language of the whole Church of that time, and in the most important part of the Divine Office, which signifieth more to me than a thousand quotations out of particular Writers, which are but their private opinions: but this is the voice of the whole body in its addresses to God: and it seems the Church of *Rome*, when

when the new doctrine of the corporal presence was received, saw that this prayer of consecration could not consist with it, which made her change such a main part of the Office. This gave me a curiosity every where to search for ancient Offices, but I found none in the Abbey of *S. Germain's* that seemed older than the times of *Charles the Great*; so I found none of any great antiquity in all *Italy*: Those published by Cardinal *Bona*, and since by *P. Mabillon*, that were brought from *Heidelberg*, are the most ancient that are in the Vatican; but these seem not to be above 800 years old: There are none of the ancient Roman Offices now to be seen in the Vatican. I was amazed to find none of any great antiquity; which made me conclude that either they were destroyed, that so the difference between Ancient and Modern Rituals might not be turned against that Church, as an undeniable evidence to prove the Changes that she hath made in divine matters, or that they were so well kept that Hereticks were not to be suffered to look into them. But to return to the *Ambrosian Library*, there is in it a Manuscript of great antiquity, though not of such great consequence, which is *Ruffinus's* Translation of *Josephus*, that is written in the old *Roman* hand, which is very hard to be read. But there is a Deed in the curious Collection that Count *Mascarda* hath made at *Verona*, which by the date appears to have been written in *Theodosius's* time, which is the same sort of writing with the Manuscript of *Ruffinus*, so that it may be reckoned to have been writ in *Ruffinus's* own time, and this is the most valuable, though the least known curiosity in the whole Library.

I need not say any thing of the curious works in Christal that are to be seen in *Milan*; the greatest quantities that are in *Europe*, are found in the *Alps*, and are wrought here; but this is too well known to need any further enlargement. It is certain the

*Alps*

*Alps* have much Wealth shut up in their Rocks, if the Inhabitants knew how to search for it: But I heard of no Mines that were wrought except iron Mines; yet by the colourings, that in many places the Fountains make, as they run along the Rocks, one sees cause to believe that there are Mines and Minerals shut up within them. Gold hath been often found in the River of *Arve*, that runs by *Geneva*.

The last curiosity that I shall mention of the Town of *Milan* is the Cabinet of the *Chanoine Settala*, which is now in his Brothers hands, where there are a great many very valuable things, both of Art and Nature: There is a lump of Ore, in which there is both Gold and Silver and Emeralds and Diamonds, which was brought from *Peru*. There are many curious motions where by an unseen Spring, a Ball, after it hath rowled down through many winding descents, is thrown up, and so it seems to be a perpetual motion; this is done in several forms, and it is well enough disguised to deceive the vulgar. Many motions of little Animals that run about by Springs are also very pretty. There is a Loadstone of a vast force that carries a great Chain: There is also a monstrous Child that was lately born in the Hospital, which is preserved in Spirit of Wine: it is double below, it hath one breast and neck, two pair of ears, a vast head, and but one face. As for the Buildings in *Milan* they are big and substantial, but they have not much regular or beautifull Architecture: The Governours Palace hath some noble Apartments in it: The chief Palace of the Town is that of the *Homodei*, which was built by a Bankier.

There is one inconvenience in *Milan*, which throws down all the pleasure that one can find in it: They have no glass windows, so that one is either exposed to the Air, or shut up in a Dungeon: And this so universal, that there is not one house of ten that

that hath glass in their Windows: The same defect is in *Florence*, besides all the small Towns of *Italy*, which is an effect of their poverty: For what by the oppression of the Government, what by the no less squeezing oppression of their Priests, who drain all the rest of their Wealth that is not eat up by the Prince, to enrich their Churches and Convents, the people here are reduced to a poverty that cannot be easily believed by one that sees the Wealth that is in their Churches, and this is going on so constantly in *Milan*, that it is scarce accountable from whence so vast a treasure can be found; but Purgatory is a fond not easily exhausted. The Wealth of the *Milanese* consists chiefly in their Silks, and that Trade falls so mightily by the vast Importations that the *East India* Companies bring into *Europe*, that all *Italy* feels this very sensibly, and languishes extremely by the great fall that is in the Silk Trade. There is a great magnificence in *Milan*; the Nobility affect to make a noble appearance both in their Cloaths, their Coaches, and their Attendants; and the Women go abroad with more freedom here than in any Town of *Italy*. And thus I have told you all that hath hitherto occurred to me, that I thought worth your knowledge. I am

Yours.

# POSTSCRIPT.

I N the account that I gave you of *Geneva*, I forgot to mention a very extraordinary person that is there, *Mistress Walkeir*; her Father is of *Shaff-house*, she lost her sight when she was but a year old, by being too near a stove that was very hot: There rests in the upper part of her eye so much sight, that she distinguishes day from night; and when any person stands between her and the light she will distinguish by the head and its dress a Man from a Woman; but when she

*She turns down her eyes she sees nothing : she hath a vast memory ; besides the French that is her natural language, she speaks both High-Dutch, Italian and Latin : she hath all the Psalms by heart, in French, and many of them in Dutch and Italian : she understands the old Philosophy well, and is now studying the New : she hath studied the body of Divinity well, and hath the Texts of the Scriptures very ready : On all which matters I had long conversations with her ; she not only sings well, but she plays rarely upon the Organ ; and I was told she played on the Violin, but her Violin was out of order. But that which is most of all, is, she writes legibly : in order to her learning to write, her Father who is a worthy man, and hath such tenderness for her, that he furnished her with Masters of all sorts, ordered Letters to be carved in Wood, and she by feeling the Characters formed such an Idea of them, that she writes with a Crayon so distinctly that her writing can be well read, of which I have several Essays. I saw her write, she doth it more nimbly than can be imagined ; she hath a machine that holds the Paper, and keeps her always in line. But that which is above all the rest, she is a Person of extraordinary devotion, great resignation to the Will of God, and of profound humility : The Preceptor that the Father kept in the house with her, hath likewise a wonderfull faculty of acquiring Tongues. When he came first to Geneva (for he is of Zurich) he spoke not a word of French, and within thirteen months he Preacht in French correctly, and with a good accent : He also began to study Italian in the month of November, and before the end of the following February he Preacht in Italian ; his accent was good, and his stile was florid, which was very extraordinary, for the Italian language is not spoken in Geneva, though the race of the Italians do keep up still an Italian Church there.*

# THE THIRD LETTER.

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*Florence, the 5th. of November.*

I Have now another Month over my Head since I writ last to you, and so I know you expect an account of the most considerable things that have occurred to me, since my last from *Milan*. Twenty Miles from *Milan*, we past through *Lodi*, a miserable Garrison, though a Frontier Town; but indeed the Frontiers both of the Spaniards and Venetians, as well as those of the other Princes of *Italy*, shew that they are not very apprehensive of one another; and when one passes through those places, which are represented in History as places of great strength, capable of resisting a long Siege, he must acknowledg that the sight of them, brings the Idea that he had conceived of them, a great many degrees lower. For *Lombardy*, which was so long the seat of War, could not stand out against a good Army now for so many days, as it did then for years. The Garrison of *Crema*, which is the first of the Venetian Territory, is no better than that of *Lodi*, only the People in the Venetian Dominion live happier than under the Spaniard.

The Senate sends Podesta's, much like the Bailiffs of the Switzers, who order the Justice and the Civil Government of the Jurisdictions assigned them: Ther:

is also a Captain General who hath the Military Authority in his hands; and these two are checks upon one another, as the Bassa's and the Cadi's are among the Turks. But here in *Crema* the Town is so small that both these are in one Person. We were there in the time of the Fair, Linnen Cloath and Cheese (which though it goes by the Name of Parmesant, is made chiefly in *Lodi*) are the main Ingredients of the Fair. The Magnificence of the Podesta appeared very extraordinary, for he went through the Fair with a great Train of Coaches, all in his own Livery; and the two Coaches in which He and his Lady rid, were both extraordinary rich: his was a huge Bed-coach, all the outside black Velvet, and a mighty rich Gold Fringe, lined with black Damask, flowered with Gold. From *Crema* it is thirty Miles to *Brescia*, which is a great Town, and full of Trade and Wealth, here they make the best Barrels for Pistols and Muskets of all *Italy*: there are great Iron Works near it; but the War with the Turk had occasioned an Order that none might be sold without a permission from *Venice*: They are building a Noble Dom at *Brescia*: I was shewed a Nunneary there, which is now under a great disgrace, some years ago a new Bishop coming thither, began with the Visitation of that Nunnery: he discovered two Vaults, by one men came ordinarily in to it, and by another the Nuns that were big went and lay in of Child-bed: When he was examining the Nuns severely concerning those Vaults, some of them told him, that his own Priests did much worse. He shut up the Nuns, so that those who are professed live still there, but none come to take the Vail: and by this means the House will soon come to an end: The Cittadel lies over the Town on a Rock, and commands it absolutely. Both here and in *Crema*, the Towns have begun a Complement within these last ten or twelve Years to their Podesta's, which is



a matter of great Ornament to their Palaces, but will grow to a vast charge, for they erect Statues to their Podesta's: and this being once begun, must be carried on: otherwise those to whom the like Honour is not done, will resent it as an high affront, and the revenges of the Noble Venetians, are dreadful things to their Subjects. This Name of Podesta is very ancient, for in the Roman times, the chief Magistrates of the lesser Towns was called the Potestas, as appears by that of *Juvenal-Fidenarium Gabiorumve esse Potestas*.

From *Brescia* the Beauty of *Lombardy* is a little interrupted, for as all the way from *Milan* to *Brescia*, is as one Garden, so here on the one side we come under the Mountains, and we pass by the Lake of *Guarda*, which is Forty Miles long, and where it is broadest, is Twenty Miles broad: The Miles indeed all *Lombardy* over, are extream short, for I walkt often four or five Miles in a walk, and I found a Thousand Paces made their common Mile; but in *Tuscany* and the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Mile is Fifteen Hundred Paces. We pass through a great Heath for seven or eight Miles on this side of *Verona*, which begins to be cultivated. *Verona* is a vast Town, and much of it well built; there are many rich Churches in it; but there is so little Trade stirring, and so little Money going, that it is not easie here to change a Pistol, without taking their Coin of base alloy, which doth not pass out of the *Veronese*: for this seems a strange Maxim of the Venetians to suffer those small States to retain still a Coin peculiar to them, which is extream inconvenient for Commerce. The known Antiquity of *Verona* is the Amphitheater, one of the best of all that the Romans built, but the best preserved; for tho' most of the great best Stones of the outside are pickt out, yet the great flopping Vault on which the rows of the Seats are laid is intire, the rows of

The Seats are also intire, they are four and forty rows, every row is a foot and a half high, and as much in breadth, so that a man sits conveniently in them; under the feet of those of the higher row, and allowing every man a foot and a half, the whole Amphitheater can hold twenty three thousand Persons. In the Vaults, under the rows of seats, were the stalls of the Beasts that were presented to entertain the Company; the thickness of the building from the outward Wall to the lowest row of seats, is ninety Foot: But this Noble remnant of Antiquity is so often and so copiously described, that I will say no more of it. The next thing of value is the Famous *Museum Calceolarium*, now in the Hands of the Count *Mascardo*, where there is a whole apartment of Rooms all furnished with Antiquities and Rarities: There are some old Inscriptions made by two Towns in *Africk*, to the Honour of *M. Crassus*: There is a great collection of Medals and Medaillons, and of the Roman Weights with their Instruments for their Sacrifices; there are many curiosities of Nature, and a great collection of Pictures, of which many are of *Paulo Veronese's* hand. There is a Noble Garden in *Verona* that riseth up in Terrasses the whole heighth of a Hill, in which there are many ancient Inscriptions, which belongs to Count *Giusto*. As we go from *Verona* to *Vincenza*, which is Thirty Miles, we return to the beauty of *Lombardy*, for there is all the way as it were a succession of Gardens, the ground is better cultivated here then I saw it in any other place of *Italy*: But the Wine is not good, for at the Roots of all their Trees they plant a Vine, which grows up winding about the Tree to which it joins; but the Soil is too rich to produce a rich Wine, for that requires a dry Ground. There is near the Lake of *Guarda* a very extraordinary Wine, which they call *Vino Santo*, which drinks like the best sort of Canary, it is not made till Chrltmas, and  
from

from thence it carries the Name of Holy Wine, and it is not to be drunk till Midsummer, for it is so long before it is quite wrought clear, but I have not marked down how long it may be kept; we had it there for a Groat an English Quart, I wondered that they did not trade with it. All the Cattel of *Italy* are gray or white, and all their Hogs are black, except in the *Bolognese*, and there they are red. I will not inquire into the reasons of these things; it is certain Hogs-flesh in *Italy* is much better than it is in *France* and *England*, whether the truffs on which they feed much in Winter, occasion this or not I know not, the husks of the pressed Grapes is also a mighty nourishment to them; but Cattle of that grayish colour are certainly weaker: The Carriage of *Italy* is generally performed by them, and this is very hard work in *Lombardy* when it hath rained ever so little, for the Ground being quite level, and there being no raised High-waies, or Cause-waies, the Carts go deep and are hardly drawn.

*Vincenza* hath still more of its ancient liberty reserved than any of these Towns, as *Padua* hath less, for it delivered it self to the Venetians, whereas the other disputed long with it, and brought it often very low: one sees the marks of liberty in *Vincenza* in the riches of their Palaces and Churches, of which many are newly built. They have a modern Theater made in imitation of the ancient Roman Theaters. Count *Valarano's* Gardens at the Port of *Verona*, is the finest thing of the Town; there is in it a very Noble Alley of Oranges and Citrons, some as bigg as a Mans Body, but those are covered all the Winter long; for in this appears the sensible difference of *Lombardy* from those parts of *Italy* that lie to the South of the *Apenines*, that here generally they keep their Oranges and Citrons in great Boxes as we do in *England*, that so they may be lodged in Winter, and defended from the Breezes that  
blow

blow sometimes so sharp from the *Alps*, that otherwise they would kill those delicate Plants: whereas in *Tuscany* they grow as other Trees in their Gardens, and in the Kingdom of *Naples* they grow wild without any care or cultivation. We were at *Vincenza* upon a Holy-day, and there I saw a preparation for a Procession that was to be in the Afternoon: I did not wonder at what a French Papist said to me, that he could hardly bear the Religion of *Italy*, the Idolatry in it was so gross. The Statue of the Virgin was of Wood so finely painted, that I thought the Head was Wax; it was richly clad, and had a Crown on its Head, and was set full of Flowers: how they did when it was carried about I do not know; but in the Morning all People run to it, and said their Prayers to it, and kissed the ground before it with all the appearances of Devotion.

From *Vincenza* it is Eighteen Miles to *Padua*, all like a Garden: here one sees the decays of a vast City, which was once one of the biggest of all *Italy*; the compass is the same that it was, but there is much uninhabited Ground in it, and Houses there go almost for nothing; the Air is extream good, and there is so great a plenty of all things except Money, that a little Money goes a great way. The University here, tho' so much supported by the Venetians, that they pay Fifty Professors, yet sinks extreamly: there are no men of any great Fame now in it, and the quarrels among the Students have driven away most of the Strangers that used to come and study here, for it is not safe to stir abroad here after Sun-set. The number of the Palaces here is incredible, and tho the Nobility of *Padua* is almost quite ruined, yet the Beauty of their ancient Palaces shews what they once were. The Venetians have been willing to let the ancient quarrels that were in all those conquered Cities continue still among them, for whiles one kills another, and

and the Children of the other take their revenges afterwards both comes under the Bando by this means, and the Confiscation goes to the Senate. At some times of Grace when the Senate wants Money, and offers a Pardon to all that will compound for it, the numbers of the guilty Persons are incredible. In *Vincenza* and the Country that belongs to it, I was assured by Monsieur *Patin*, that learned Antiquary, that hath been many years a Professor in *Padua*, that there were five and thirty Thousand Pardoned at the last Grace; this I could hardly believe, but he bid me write it down upon his word. The Nobility of *Padua*, and of the other Towns seem not to see what a profit their quarrels bring to the Venetians, and how they eat out their Families: for one Family in the same Manstime, who was alive while I was there, was reduced from fourteen Thousand Ducats revenue to less than three Thousand, by its falling at several times under the Bando: But their Jealousies and their Revenges are pursued by them with so much vigor, that when these are in their way, all other things are forgot by them. There is here the remnant of the Amphitheater, tho' nothing but the outward Wall stands: There is here as well as in *Milan*, an inward Town called the City, and an outward without that, called the Burgo, but tho' there is a Ditch about the City, the great Ditch and Wall goeth about all, and *Padua* is eight Miles in compass, it lies almost round: the publick Hall is the Noblest of *Italy*: the Dome is an ancient and mean Building; but the Church of St. *Anthony*, especially the Holy Chappel in it where the Saint lies, is one of the best pieces of modern Sculpture; for round the Chapple the chief Miracles in the Legend of that Saint are represented in *Mezzo relivo*, in a very surprising manner: The Devotion that is paid to this Saint all *Lombardy* over, is amazing; he is called by way of excellence *il Santo*, and the Beggars generally ask

Aims for his sake: But among the little Vows that hang without the Holy Chappel, there is one that is the highest Blasphemy that can be imagined; *Ex audit*, speaking of the Saint, *quos non audit & ipse Deus*; he hears those whom God himself doth not hear. *St. Justina* is a Church so well ordered within, the Architecture is so beautiful, it is so well enlightned, and the Capu'o's are so advantageously placed, that if the outside answered the inside, it would be one of the best Churches of *Italy*; but the Building is of brick, and it hath no Frontispiece; there are many new Altars, made as fine as they are Idolatrous, all full of Statues of Marble. This Abbey hath a hundred thousand Duckats of Revenue, and so by its Wealth one may conclude that it belongs to the *Benedictine* Order. Cardinal *Barberigo* is Bishop here; he seems to set *St. Carlo* before him as his Pattern; he hath founded a Noble Seminary for the Secular Priests; he lives in a constant Discipline himself, and endeavours to reform his Clergy all he can; but he is now in ill terms with his Canons, who are all Noble *Venetians*, and so allow themselves great liberties, of which they will not be willingly abridged; he is charitable to a high degree, and is in all respects a very extraordinary man.

In the *Venetian* Territory their Subjects live easie and happy, if they could be so wise as to give over their quarrels; but tho' the Taxes are not high, they oppress their Tenants so severely, that the Peasants live most miserably; yet on all hands round about them the oppressions being more intollerable, they know not whither to go for ease, whereas (on the contrary) miseries under which their Neighbors groan, chiefly those of the Ecclesiastical State, send in an increase of people among them, so that they are well stock'd with people: but the *Venetians* are so jealous of their Subjects understanding military matters, which may dis-

pose

pose them to a revolt, that they never make any Levies among them for their Wars; this jealousy is the true ground of that Maxim, tho' another is pretended that is more plausible, which is their care of their own people, whom they study to preserve, and therefore they hire Strangers rather than expose their Subjects. It is certain a revolt here were no hard matter to effectuate, for the Garisons and Fortifications are so slight, that those great Towns could easily shake off their yoke, if it were not for the Factions that still reign among them, by which one Party would choose rather to expose the other to the rigor of the Inquisitors, than concur with them in asserting their Liberty; and the Inquisitors in such cases proceed so secretly, and yet so effectually, that none dares truit another with a secret of such consequence; and the oppressed Nobility of those States retain still so much of their old and unsubdued insolence, and treat such as are under them so cruelly, that the *Venetians* are as secure in those Conquests, as if they had many strong Citadels and numerous Garisons spread up and down among them. From *Padua* down to *Venice*, all along the River *Brent*, there are many Palaces of the Noble *Venetians* on both sides of the River, built with so great a variety of Architecture, that there is not one of them like another; there is also the like diversity in the laying out of their Gardens: and here they retire during the hot months, and some allow themselves all the excesses of dissolute liberty that can possibly be imagined. From *Lizza Fucina*, which is at the mouth of the *Brent*, we pass for five or six miles on the *Lagunes* or Shallows to *Venice*: these Shallows sink of late so much, that the preserving *Venice* still an Island is like to become as great a charge to the *Venetians*, as the keeping out the Sea is to the *Dutch*; for they use all possible industry to cleanse the Channels of their *Lagunes*, and to keep them full of water;

and yet many think that the water hath failed so much in this last Age, that if it continues to abate at the same rate, within an Age or two more *Venice* may become a part of the *Terra firma*. It is certainly the most surprizing sight in the whole world, to see so vast a City situated thus in the Sea, and such a number of Islands so united together by Bridges brought to such a regular figure, the Pilotty supplying the want of Earth to build on, and all so nobly built, which is of all the things that one can see the most amazing. And tho' this Republick is much sunk from what it was, both by the great losses they have suffered in their Wars with the *Turks*, and by the great decay of Trade, yet there is an incredible Wealth, and a vast plenty of all things in this place. I will not offer to describe neither the Church nor the Palace of *St. Mark*, which are too well known to need a long digression to be made for them: the Painting of the Walls, and the Roofs of the Halls, and publick Rooms in the Palace, are of vast value. Here I saw that story of Pope *Alexander III.* treading on the neck of the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*. The nobleness of the Stair-cases, the riches of the Halls, and the beauty of the whole Building, are much prejudiced by the beastliness of those that walk along, and that leave their marks behind them, as if this were rather a common House of Office, than so Noble a Palace; And the great Hall, where the whole body of the Nobility meet, in the Great Council, hath nothing but the Roof and Walls that answers to such an Assembly; for the Seats are liker the Benches of an Auditory of Scholars, than of so glorious a Body. When the two sides of this Palace are built as the third, which is the most hid, it will be one of the gloriousst Palaces that the world can shew. The two sides that are most seen, the one facing the Square of *St. Mark*, and the other the great *Canale*, are only of Brick,



Brick, the third being all of Marble, but the War of *Candy* put a stop to the Building. *St. Mark's Church* hath nothing to recommend it, but its great Antiquity, and the vast riches of the Building: It is dark and low, but the Pavement is so rich a Mosaick, and the whole Roof is also Mosaick, the outside and inside are of such excellent Marble, the Frontispiece is adorned with so many Pillars of *Perphiry* and *Jasp*, and above all with the four *Horses of Corinthian Brass* that *Tiridates* brought to *Tiberius*, which were carried afterwards to *Constantinople*, and were brought from thence to *Venice*, and in which the guilding is still very bright; that when all this is considered, one doth nowhere see so much cost brought together. I did not see the Gospel of *St. Mark*, which is one of the valuablest things of the *Treasure*, but they do not now open it to strangers; yet *Doctor Grandi*, a famous Physician there, told me that by a particular Order he was suffered to open it; he told me it was all writ in Capital Letters, but the Characters were so worn out, that tho' he could discern the ends of some Letters, he could not see enough to help him to distinguish them, or to know whether the *M. S.* was in *Greek* or *Latine*. I will not say one word of the *Arsenal*; for as I saw it in its worst state, the War that is now on foot having disfurnished a great deal of it, so it hath been often described, and it is known to be the Noblest Magazine, the best ordered, and of the greatest variety that is in the whole world. It's true it is all that this State hath; so that if the Magazines of other Princes, which lie spread up and down in the different places of their Dominions, were gathered together, they would make a much greater shew: The Noblest Covent of *Venice* is that of the *Dominicans*, called *St. John*, and *St. Paul*, the Church and Chappels are vaitly rich: There is one of *St. Luke's Madona's* here as they pretend; the Dormitory is  
 very

very great; the Room for the Library, and every thing in it except the Books, is extreme fine. But *St. George*, which is a Convent of the *Benedictines*, in an Isle intirely possessed by them over against *St. Mark's Square*, is much the richest. The Church is well contrived, and well adorned, and not only the whole Building is very magnificent, but (which is more extraordinary at *Venice*) they have a large Garden, and noble Walks in it. The *Redemptore* and the *Salute* are two Noble Churches, that are the effects of Vows that the Senate made when they were afflicted with the Plague: the latter is much the finer, it is to the Virgin, and the other is only to our Saviour; So naturally doth the Devotion of that Church carry it higher for the Mother than the Son! It is true the *Salute* is later than the other, so no wonder if the Architecture and the Riches exceed that which is more ancient. The School of *Sant. Roch*, and the Chappel, and Hall, are full of great pieces of *Tintorets*; a *Cena of Paulo Veronese* in the Refectory of *St. George*, and the Picture of *St. Peter* the Martyr of *Titians*, are the most celebrated Pieces of *Venice*. Duke *Pesaro's* Tomb in the Friary is the Noblest I ever saw. But if the Riches of all the Convents and the Parish-Churches of *Venice* amazed me, (the Fronts especially, many of which are of white Marble, beautified with several Statues) the meanness of the Library of *St. Mark* did no less surprize me. There are in the Anti-Chamber to it Statues of vast value, and the whole Roof of the Library is composed of several Pieces of the greatest Masters put in several frames; but the Library hath nothing answerable to the Riches of the case, for the *Greek Manuscripts* are all modern: I turned over a great many, and saw none above five hundred years old. I was indeed told that the last Library-keeper was accused for having conveyed away many of their Manuscripts, and that four years ago being clapt in Prison for

for this by the Inquisitors, he to prevent further Je-  
 verities, poisoned himself. I went to the Covent of the  
*Servi* but I found Father *Paul* was not in such con-  
 sideration there as he is elsewhere; I asked for his  
 Tomb, but they made no account of him, and seem-  
 ed not to know where it was; it is true, the Person  
 to whom I was recommended was not in *Venice*, so  
 perhaps they refined too much in this matter. I had  
 great Discourse with some at *Venice* concerning the  
 Memorials out of which *F. Paul* drew his History,  
 which are no doubt all preserved with great care in  
 their Archives, and since the Transactions of the Coun-  
 cil of *Trent*, as they are of great Importance, so they  
 are become now much controverted by the different  
 relations that *F. Paul*, and Cardinal *Pallavicini* have  
 given the World of that matter; the only way to put  
 an end to all disputes in matter of fact is to Print the  
 Originals themselves. A Person of great Credit at  
*Venice* promised me to do his utmost to get that Pro-  
 position set on foot, tho' the great exactness that the  
 Government there hath always affected as to the mat-  
 ter of their Archives, is held so Sacred, that this made  
 him apprehend they would not give way to any such  
 search. The affinity of the matter brings into my mind  
 a long Conversation that I had with a Person of great  
 eminence at *Venice*, that as he was long at *Constanti-*  
*nople*, so was learned far beyond what is to be met  
 with in *Italy*; he told me he was at *Constantinople*  
 when the inquiry into the Doctrine of the Greek  
 Church was set on foot, occasioned by the Famous  
 Dispute between Mr. *Arnaud*, and Mr. *Claude*; he be-  
 ing a Zealous Roman Catholick was dealt with to  
 assist in that business; but being a Man of great Ho-  
 nour and Sincerity he excused himself, and said he  
 could not meddle in it: He hath a very low and bad  
 opinion of the Greeks, and he told me that none of  
 their Priests were more inveterate Enemies to the  
 Church

Church of *Rome*, than those that were bred up at *Rome*; for they free themselves of the prejudices that their Countrey-men are apt to conceive against them, because of their education among the Latines do affect to shew an opposition to the Latine Church beyond any other Greeks. He told me that he knew the ignorance and corruption of the Greeks was such, that as they did not know the Doctrines of their own Church, so a very little Money, or the hope of Protection from any of the Ambassadors that come from the West, would prevail with them to sign any thing that could be desired of them: He added one thing, that though he firmly believed Transubstantiation himself, he did not think they believed it; let them say what they pleased themselves, he took his measures of the Doctrine of their Church, rather from what they did, then from what they said: For their Rites not being changed now for a great many ages, were the true Indications of the Doctrines received among them; whereas they were both ignorant of the Tradition of their Doctrine, and very apt to prevaricate when they saw advantages or protection set before them, therefore he concluded that since they did not adore the Sacrament after the Consecration, that was an evident sign that they did not believe the corporal presence, and was of a force well able to ballance all their Subscriptions: He told me he was often scandalized to see them open the bag in which the Sacrament was preserved, and shew it with no sort of respect no more than when they shewed any Manuscript; and he looked on Adoration as such a necessary consequent of Transubstantiation, that he could not imagine that the latter was received in a Church that did not practise the former. To this I will add what an eminent Catholick at *Paris* told me, he said the originals of those attestations were in too exact and too correct a Style to have been formed in  
Greece,

Greece, he assured me they were penned at *Paris* by one that was a Master of the purity of the Greek Tongue. I do not name those Persons because they are yet alive, and this might be a prejudice to them. One of the chief Ornaments of *Venice* was the Famous young Woman that spake five Tongues well, of which the Latin and Greek were two; she passed Doctor of Physick at *Padua* according to the ordinary forms; but which was beyond all, she was a person of such extraordinary Vertue and Piety, that she is spoken of as a Saint, she died some months before I came to *Venice*: She was of the noble Family of the *Cornara's*, tho not of the three chief branches, which are Saint *Maurice*, Saint *Paul* and *Calle*, who are descended from the three Brothers of the renowned Queen of *Cyprus*, but the distinction of her Family was *Pisconia*. Her extraordinary merit made all People unwilling to remember the blemish of her descent on the one side, for tho the *Cornara's* reckon themselves a size of Nobility beyond all the other Families of *Venice*, yet her Father having entertained a *Gondalier's* Daughter so long that he had some Children by her, at last for their sakes married the Mother, and paid a considerable fine to save the forfeiture of Nobility, which his Children must have undergone, by reason of the meanness of the Mothers Birth. The *Cornaras* carry it so high, that many of the Daughters of that Family have made themselves Nuns, because they thought their own Name was so Noble that they could not induce themselves to change it with any other; and when lately one of that Family married the Heir of the *Sagredo*, which is also one of the ancientest Families that was extream rich, and she had scarce any Portion at all, for the *Cornara's* are now very low, some of their Friends came to wish them Joy of so advantageous a match; but they very coldly rejected the Complement, and bid the others go and wish the

*Sagredo*

Sagredo Joy, since they thought the advantage was wholly of their side.

There are of the truly ancient Noble Families of *Venice* four and twenty yet remaining, and even among these there are twelve that are thought superiour to the rest in rank: since the first formation of their Senate, they have created many Senators. In their Wars with *Genoa* they conferred that Honour on thirty Families; several of their Generals have had that Honour given them as a reward of their Service. They have also offered this Honour to some Royal Families; for both the Families of *Valois* and *Bourbon* were Nobles of *Venice*; and *Henry* the III. when he came through *Venice* from *Poland* to take possession of the Crown of *France*, went and sat among them, and drew his Ballot as a Noble Venetian: many Popes have procured this Honour for their Nephews: Only the Barberines would have the Venetians offer it to them without their asking it, and the Venetians would not give it without the others asked it, and so it stuck at this. But during the War of *Candy* Cardinal *Francis Barberin* gave twelve thousand Crowns a year towards the War, and the temper found for making them Noble Venetians was, that the Queen Mother of *France* moved the Senate to grant it. In all the Creations of Senators before the last War of *Candy*, they were free; and the considerations were either great Services, or the great dignity of those on whom they bestowed this Honour. Those new Families are divided into those that are called Ducal Families, and those that were called simply new Families; the reason of the former designation is not rightly understood, but one that knew all that related to that constitution particularly well gave me a good account of it: that which naturally occurs as the reason of it is, that all those Families that are called Ducal, have had the Dukedom in their House: But as all the old Families have had the

the same Honour, though they carry not that Title; so some of the New Families have also had it, that yet are not called Ducal. Others say that those Families that have had Branches, who have been made Dukes, without being first Procurators of St. *Mark*, or that have been chosen to that Honour, without their pretending to it, are called Ducal: But the true Account of this is, that from the year 1450. to the year 1620. for a hundred and seventy years there was a combination made among those new Families to preserve the Dukedom still among them: For the old Families carrying it high, and excluding the new Families from the chief Honours, nineteen of the new Families entered into mutual engagements to exclude the ancient Nobility: It is true they made the Dukedom sometimes fall on some of the new Families that were not of this Association; but this was more indifferent to them, as long as the ancient Families were shut out, and that it appeared that they bore the chief sway in Election. This Combination was a thing known to the very People, tho' the Inquisitors did all they could to break it, and at least to hide it, so that I never met with it in any of their Authors: But this failed in the year 1620. when *Memmio* was chosen Duke, who was descended of one of the ancient Nobility, which was so great a mortification to the case Ducale, that one of them (*Venniero*) hanged himself, by the rage to which that disgrace drove him, yet his man came into the room in time before he was dead and cut him down, and he lived long after that in a better mind. Since that time one of the *Bembo's*, two of the *Cornaro's*, and one of the *Contrarini's*, and the present Prince of the *Justiniani*, the first of that Family that hath had that Honour, have been Dukes, who are all of the ancient Families: So that this Faction is now so intirely buried, that it is not generally known, even in *Venice* it self, that it was ever amongst them: and thus

thus time and other accidents bring about happy events, which no care nor industry could produce; for that which all the endeavours of the Inquisitors could not compass, was brought about of it self. It is true the Factions in *Venice*, tho' violent enough in the persons of those who manage them, yet are not derived by them as an Inheritance to their Posterity, as it was among the *Florentines*; who, tho' they value themselves as a size of men much above the *Venetians*, whom they despise as a phlegmatick and dull race of People, yet shewed how little they understood with all their vivacity to conduct their State, since by their domestick heats they lost their liberty, which the *Venetians* have had the wisdom still to preserve. This Faction of the Case Ducal was, perhaps, willing to let the matter fall, for they lost more than they gat by it; for the ancient Families in revenge set themselves against them, and excluded them from all the other advantageous employments of the State. For the others being only united in the single point relating to the Dukedom, the ancient Families let them carry it, but in all other competitions they set up always such Competitors against the Pretenders that were of the Ducal Families, that were much more esteemed than these were, so that they shut them out of all the best Offices of the Republick. Such a Faction as this was, if it had been still kept up, might in conclusion have prov'd fatal to their liberty. It is indeed a wonder to see the Dignity of the Duke so much courted, for he is only a Prisoner of State, tied up to such Rules, so severely restrained, and shut up (as it were) in an Appartment of the Palace of *St. Mark*, that it is not strange to see some of the greatest Families, in particular the *Cornara's*, decline it. All the Family, if ever so numerous, must retire out of the Senate when a Duke is chosen out of it, only one that is next to him of Kin sits still, but without a Vote; And the only

real



real Priviledge that the Duke hath, is, that he can of himself, without communicating with the *Savii*, propose matters, either to the Council of Ten, to the Senate, or to the Great Council, whereas all other Propositions must be first offered to the *Savii*, and examined by them, who have a sort of Tribunitian Power to reject what they dislike; and tho' they cannot hinder the Duke to make a Proposition, yet they can mortifie him when he hath made it; they can hinder it to be voted, and after it is voted they can suspend the execution of it till it is examined over again; and a Duke that is of an active spirit must resolve to endure many of these afflictions: And it is certain that the *Savii* do sometimes affect to shew the greatness of their Authority, and exercise a sort of Tyranny, in the rejecting of Propositions, when they intend to humble those that make them; yet the greatest part of the best Families court this Honour of of Dukedom extremely. When *Sagredo* was upon the point of being chosen Duke, there was so violent an outcry against it over all *Venice*; because of the disgrace that they thought would come on the Republick, if they had a Prince whose Nose had miscarried in some unfortunate disorders: the Senate complied so far with this aversion that the people testified, that tho' the Inquisitors took care to hang or drown many of the chief of the Mutineers, yet they let the design for *Sagredo* fall; upon which he was so much disgusted, that he retired to a House he had in the *Terra firma*, and never appeared more at *Venice*: during which time of his retirement he writ two Books, the one *Memorie Ottomaniche*, which is printed, and he is accounted the best of all their modern Authors; the other was, *Memoirs of the Government and History of Venice*, which hath never been printed; and some say it is too sincere, and too particular, so that it is thought it will be reserved among their Archives. It hath been

been a fort of Maxim now for some time, not to choose a married man to be Duke, for the Coronation of a Dutchess goes high, and hath cost above a hundred thousand Duckats. Some of the ancient Families have affected the Title of Prince, and have called their Branches *Princes of the Blood*; and tho' the *Cornara's* have done this more than any other, yet others, upon the account of some Principalities that their Ancestors had in the Islands of the *Archipelago*, have also affected those vain Titles: But the Inquisitors have long ago obliged them to lay aside all those high Titles, and such of them as boast too much of their Blood, find the dislike which that brings on them very sensibly; for whensoever they pretend to any great Employments, they find themselves always excluded. When an Election of Ambassadors was proposed, or any of the chief Offices, it was wont to be made in those terms, *That the Council must choose one of its Principal Members for such an Employment*: but because this look'd like a term of distinction among the Nobility, they changed it five and twenty years ago, and instead of *Principal*, they now use the term *Honourable*, which comprehends the whole Body of their Nobility, without any distinction. It is at *Venice*, in the Church as well as in the State, that the Head of the Body hath a great Title, and particular Honours done him, whereas in the mean while this is meer Pageantry, and under these big words there is lodged only a light shadow of Authority; for their Bishop has the glorious Title of *Patriarch*, as well as the Duke is called their *Prince*, and *His Serenity*, and hath his Name stamp't upon their Coyn: So the *Patriarch* hath no Authority; for not only *St. Mark's Church* is intirely exempted from his Jurisdiction, and is immediately subject to the Duke, but his Authority is in all other things so subject to the Senate, and so regulated by them, that he hath no more power than they

they are pleased to allow him ; so that the Senate is as really the Supreme Governour over all Persons, and in all Causes, as the Kings of *England* have pretended to be in their own Dominions since the Reformation: But besides all this, the Clergy of *Venice* have a very extraordinary exemption, and are a sort of a Body like a Presbytery independent of the Bishop ; the Curates are chosen by the Inhabitants of every Parish, and this makes that no Noble *Venetian* is suffered to pretend to any Curacy, for they think it below that Dignity to suffer one of their Body to engage in a competition with one of a lower Order, and to run the hazard of being rejected. I was told the manner of those Elections was the most scandalous thing possible, for the several Candidates appear on the day of election, and set out their own merits, and defame the other Pretenders in the foulest language, and in the most scurrilous manner imaginable ; the secrets of all their lives are publish'd in most reproachful terms, and nothing is so abject and ridiculous, that is not put in practice on those occasions. There is a sort of an Association among the Curates for judging of their common concerns, and some of the Laity of the several Parishes assist in those Courts, so that here is a real Presbytery. The great Libertinage that is so undecently practised by most sorts of people at *Venice*, extends it self to the Clergy to such a degree, that tho' Ignorance and Vice seem the only indelible Characters that they carry generally over all *Italy*, yet those appear here in a much more conspicuous manner than elsewhere, and upon these popular elections all comes out. The Nuns of *Venice* have been under much scandal for a great while ; there are some Monasteries that are as famous for their strictness, and exactness to their Rules, as others are for the Liberties they take ; chiefly those of St. *Zachary* and St. *Laurence*, where none but Noble *Venetians* are admitted, and where it is not so much as pretended that that they have

have retired for Devotion; but it is owned to be done merely that they might not be too great a charge to their Family: They are not veiled, their Neck and Breast is bare, and they receive much Company: but that which I saw was in a publick Room, in which there were many grills for several Parlors, so that the Conversation is very confused, for their being a different Company at every Grill, and the Italians speaking generally very loud, the noise of so many loud talkers is very disagreeable. The Nuns talk much and very ungracefully, and allow themselves a liberty in rallying that other places could not bear. About four years ago the Patriark intended to bring in a reform into those Houses, but the Nuns of St. *Lawrence* with whom he began, told him plainly they were Noble Venetians who had chosen that way of Life as more convenient for them, but they would not subject themselves to his regulations, yet he came and would shut up their House, so they went to set fire to it; upon which the Senate interposed and ordered the Patriark to desist. There is no Christian state in the World, that hath expressed a Jealousie of Church-mens getting into the publick Councils so much as the Venetians, for as a Noble Venetian that goes into Orders, looses thereby his right of going to vote in the great Council, so when any of them are promoted to be Cardinals, the whole Kindred and Family must during their Lives withdraw from the great Council, and are also incapable of all Employments: and by a Clause which they added when they received the Inquisition, which seemed of no great consequence, they have made it to become a Court absolutely subject to them; for it being provided that the Inquisitors should do nothing, but in the presence of such as should be deputed by the Senate to be the witnesses of their proceedings, those Deputies either will not come but when they think fit, or will not stay long-

er then they are pleased with their proceedings; so that either their absence or their with-drawing dissolves the Court: for a citation cannot be made, a witness cannot be examined, nor the least point of form carried on, if the Deputies of the Senate are not present: and thus it is, that though there is a Court of Inquisition at *Venice*, yet there is scarce any Person brought into trouble by it, and there are many of the Protestant Religion that live there without any trouble: and though there is a Congregation of them there that hath their exercise of Religion very regularly, yet the Senate gives them no trouble. It is true the Host's not being carried about in Procession, but secretly by the Priest to the sick, makes that this uneasie discrimination of Protestant and Papist doth not offer it self here as in other places, for the straitness of the streets, and the Channels through which one must go almost every foot, makes that this could not be done in *Venice* as it is elsewhere, and from *Venice* this rule is carried over their whole Territory, tho' the like reason doth not hold in the *Terra Firma*. The Venetians are generally ignorant of the matters of Religion to a scandal, and they are as unconcerned in them, as they are strangers to them, so that all that vast pomp in their Ceremonies, and Wealth in their Churches, is affected rather as a point of Magnificence, or a matter of Emulation among Families, then that Superstition hath here such a power over the Spirits of the People as it hath elsewhere: for the Atheism that is received by many here, is the dullest and coarsest thing that can be imagined. The young Nobility are so generally corrupted in their Morals, and so given up to a most supine Ignorance of all sort of Knowledge, that a man cannot easily imagine to what a height this is grown, and for Military Courage there is scarce so much as the ambition of being thought brave remaining among the greater

part of them. It seemed to me a strange thing to see the Broglio so full of graceful young Senators and Nobles, when there was so glorious a War on foot with the Turks, but instead of being heated in point of Honour to hazard their Lives, they rather think it an extravagant piece of folly for them to go and hazard it, when a little Money can hire strangers that do it on such easie terms, and thus their Arms are in the hands of strangers, while they stay at home managing their Intrigues in the Broglio, and dissolving their Spirit among their Courtisans. And the reputation of their Service is of late years so much sunk, that it is very strange to see so many come to a service so decried, where there is so little care had of the Souldiers, and so little regard had to the Officers: the arrears are slowly paid, and the rewards are so scantily distributed, that if they do not change their maxims, they may come to feel this very sensibly; for as their Subjects are not acquainted with Warlike matters, so their Nobility have no sort of ambition that way, and strangers are extremely disgusted. It is chiefly to the conjuncture of affairs that they owe their safety, for the feebleness of all their Neighbours, the Turk, the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, the Pope, and the Duke of *Mantua*, preserves them from the apprehension of an Invasion, and the quarrels and degeneracy of their Subjects, save them from the fears of a revolt, but a formidable Neighbour would put them hard to it. One great occasion of the degeneracy of the Italians, and in particular of the Venetian Nobility, is a maxim that hath been taken up for some considerable time, that for the preservation of their Families, it is best that only one of a Family should marry, to which I will not add that it is generally believed that the Wife is in common to the whole Family: By this means the younger Brothers that have appointments for life, and that have no Families that come from them, are

not stirred up by any ambition to signalize themselves or to make Families, and so they give way to all the laziness of Luxury, and are quite enervated by it. Whereas the best services done in other States flows from the necessities as well as the aspirings of younger Brothers or their Families, whose blood qualifies them to pretend, as well as their pride and necessities push them on, to acquire first a reputation, and then a fortune: But all this is a mystery to the *Venetians*, who apprehend so much from the active Spirits of a necessitous Nobility, that to lay those to sleep, they encourage them in all things that may blunt and depress their minds, and youth naturally hates Letters as much as it loves pleasure, when it is so far from being restrained, that it is rather pushed on to all the licentiousness of unlimited disorders.

Yet I must add one thing, that tho *Venice*, is the place in the whole World where pleasure is most studied, and where the youth have both the greatest Wealth, and the most leisure to pursue it: yet it is the place that I ever saw where true and innocent pleasure is the least understood, in which I will make a little digression that perhaps will not be unpleasant. As for the pleasures of Friendship or Marriage they are strangers to them, for the horrible distrust, in which they all live, of one another, makes that it is very rare to find a Friend in *Italy*, but most of all in *Venice*: and tho we have been told of several stories of celebrated friendships there, yet these are now very rare. As for their Wives they are bred to so much ignorance, they converse so little, that they know nothing but the dull superstition on Holy-daies, in which they stay in the Churches as long as they can, and so prolong the little liberty they have of going abroad on those daies, as Children do their hours of play: They are not employed in their domestick affairs, and generally they understand no sort of Work, so that I was told that they were the insipidest creatures imaginable: they are per-

haps as vitious as in other places, but it is among them down-right lewdness, for they are not drawn into it by the intanglements of Amour that inveigle and lead many persons much farther than they imagined or intended at first, but in them the first step without any preamble or preparative, is down-right beastliness. And an *Italian* that knew the World well, said upon this matter a very lively thing to me, he said their Jealousie made him restrain their Daughters, and their Wives so much, that they could have none of those domestick Entertainments of Wit, Conversation, and Friendship, that the *French* or *English* have at home. It is true, those he said hazard a little the Honour of their Families by that liberty, but the *Italians* by their excecive caution, made that they had none of the true delights of a married State; and notwithstanding all their uneasie Jealousie, they were still in danger of a contraband Nobility, therefore he thought they would do much better to hazard a little, when it would produce a certain satisfaction, than to watch so anxiously, and thereby have an insipid companion instead of a lively friend, tho she might perhaps have some ill moments. As for their Houses they have nothing convenient at *Venice*, for the Architecture is almost all the same, one Stair-case, a Hall that runs along the body of the House, and Chambers on both hands, but there are no apartments, no Closets, or Back-stairs; so that in Houses that are of an excecive Wealth, they have yet no sort of convenience; Their Bed-steads are of Iron, because of the Vermin that their moisture produces, the bottoms are of boards, upon which they lay so many Quilts, that it is a huge step to get up to them, their great Chairs are all upright without a slope in the back, hard in the bottom, and the wood of the arms is not covered: they mix water with their Wine in their Hog-heads, so that for above half the year, the Wine is either dead or sour; they do not leaven their bread, so that it is extream heavy, and the Oven is too much heated,



heated, so that the crum is as dough, when the crust is as hard as a stone; in all Inns they boil meat first before it is roasted, and thus as indeed they make it tender, so it is quite tasteless and insipid: And as for their Land-carriage all *Lombardy* over is extream inconvenient, for their Coaches are fastned to the perch, which makes them as uneasy as a Cart: It is true they begin to have at *Rome*, and *Naples*; Coaches that are fastned to a sort of double perch that runs along the bottom of the Coach of both sides, which are so thin that they ply to the motion of the Coach, and are extream easie, but those are not known in *Lombardy*; and besides this their Caleshes open, so that one is exposed to the Sun, and dust in Summer, and to the Weather in Winter: But tho they are covered as ours are, on the other side of the *Appenins*, yet I saw none that were covered in *Lombardy*: and thus by an enumeration of many of the innocent pleasures, and conveniences of life, it appears that the *Venetians* pursue so violently forbidden pleasures, that they know not how to find out that which is allowable. Their constant practises in the *Broglio* is their chief business, where those that are necessitous are pursuing for employments of advantage, and those that are full of wealth take a sort of pleasure in crossing their pretensions, and in embroiling matters. The walk in which the Nobility tread is left to them, for no others dare walk among them, and they change the side of the square of *St. Mark* as the Sun, and the weather direct them. Perhaps a derivation that *Mr. Patin* gave me of *Broglio* from the Greek *Peribolaion*, a little corrupted is not forced, and since they make all their parties, and manage all their intrigues in those Walks, I am apt to think that broils, brovillons and embroilments are all derived from the agitations that are managed in those walks.

As for the last created Nobility of *Venice*, I came to know some particulars that I have not yet seen in any Books, which I suppose will not be unacceptable to you.

It is certain that if the *Venetians* could have foreseen at the beginning of the War of *Candy*, the vast expence in which the length of it engaged them, they would have abandoned the Isle, rather than have wasted their Treasure, and debased their Nobility. This last was extream sensible to them: for as the dignity of the rank they hold is so much the more eminent as it is restrained to a small number, so all the best employments and Honours of the State belonging to this body, the admitting such a number into it, as must rise out of Seventy eight Families, was in effect the sharing their inheritance among so many adopted Brothers. This had been less infamous if they had communicated that Honour only to the ancient Citizens of *Venice*, or to the Nobility of those States that they have subdued in the *Terra firma*; for as there are many Citizens who are as ancient as the Nobility, only their Ancestors not happening to be of that Council that assumed the Government about four hundred years ago, they have not been raised to that Honour, so there had been no infamy in creating some of them to be of the Nobility. It had been also brought under consultation long ago, upon the reduction of those States in the *Terra firma*, whether it was not advisable according to the Maxims of the ancient *Romans* to communicate that dignity to some of their chief Families, as being the surest way to give some contentment to those States, it being also a real as well as a cheap security, when the chief Families in those Cities, were admitted to a share in all the Honours of the Republique. It is true some of the Nobility of those States thought they had Honour enough by their birth, and so *Zambara* of *Brescia* refused to accept an Honour from those that had robbed his Country of its Liberty, yet his posterity are now of another mind, for they came and bought in this last Sale of Honour that which was freely offered to their Ancestor, and was rejected by him. When the Senate found it self extreamly pressed for money during the War it was  
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at first proposed that some Families, to the number of five, might be Enobled; they offering sixty thousand Ducats if they were *Venetians*, and seventy thousand if they were strangers; There was but one person that opposed this in the Senate; so it being passed there, was presented to the great Council; and there it was like to have passed without any difficulty, but one person opposed it with so much vigor, that tho the Duke desired him to give over his opposition, since the necessities of the War required a great supply, yet he persisted still; and tho one of the *Savii* set forth with tears the extremities to which the State was reduced, he still insisted and fell upon one conceit that turned the whole Council, he said they were not sure if five persons could be found that would purchase that Honour at such a rate, and then it would be a vast disgrace, to expose the offer of Nobility first to Sale, and then the affront of finding no Buyers when it was offered to be sold, and by this means he put by the resolution for that time: But then another method was taken that was more honourable, and was of a more extended consequence. *Labia* was the first that presented a Petition to the great Council, setting forth his merits towards the Republic, and desiring that he might be thought worthy to offer a hundred thousand Ducats towards the service of the State: this was understood to be the asking to be made Noble at that price. *Delfino* said he thought every man might be well judged worthy to offer such an assistance to the Publique, and that such as brought that supply might expect a suitable acknowledgment from the Senate, who might afterwards of their own accord bestow that Honour on those that expressed so much zeal for the Publique: and this would in some sort maintain that degree which would be too much debased if it were thus bought and sold: but it seems the purchasers had no mind to part with their money, and to leave the reward to the gratitude of the Council, so the Petition was granted in plain terms: and the Nobility

fity fo acquired was not only to defcend to the Children of him that was enobled, but to his Brothers and the whole Family to fuch a degree. After *Labia* a great many more came with the like Petitions, and it was not unpleafant to fee in what terms Merchants, that came to buy this Honour fet forth their merits, which were that they had taken care to furnifh the Republique with fuch things as were neceffary for its prefervation. There was a fort of a Triumvirat formed of a Jew, a Greek, and an Italian, who were the Brokers, and found out the Merchants : and at laft brought down the price from a hundred thoufand to fixty thoufand Ducats, and no other qualifications were required if they had money enough: For when *Correge* faid to the Duke that he was afraid to ask that Honour for want of merit, the Duke asked him if he had a hundred thoufand Ducats, and when the other answered the fum was ready, the Duke told him that was a great merit. At laft feventy eight purchafed this Honour, to the great regret of *Labia* : who faid, that if he had imagined that fo many would have followed him in that demand, he would have bid fo high for it, that it would have been out of their power to have done it. It is true, many of the Purchafers were Ancient and Noble Families, but many others were not only Merchants, but were of the loweft fort of them; who as they had enriched themfelves by Trade, did then impoverifh themfelves by the acquisition of an Honour that as it obliged them to give over their Trade, and put them in a higher way of living, fo it hath not brought them yet in any advantage to ballance that lofs: for they are fo much difpifed, that they are generally excluded when they compete with the ancient Nobility, tho this is done with that difcretion, that the old Families do not declare alwaies againft the new, for that would throw the new into a Faction againft them, which might be a great prejudice to them, for the new are much more numerous than the old. Another great prejudice that the

the Republique feels by this great promotion, is that the chief Families of the Citizens of *Venice*, who had been long practised in the affairs of State, and out of whom the Envoys, the Secretaries of State, and the Chancellor that is the head of the Citizens, as well as the Duke is the head of the Nobility, are to be chosen, having purchased the chief honour of the State there is not now a sufficient number of capable Citizens left for serving the State in those Employments; but this defect will be redrest with the help of a little time. But if this increase of the Nobility hath lessened the dignity of the ancient Families, there is a regulation made in this age that still preserves a considerable distinction of Authority in their hands. Crimes against the State, when committed by any of the Nobility, were alwaies judged by the Inquisitors, and the Council of Ten, but all other crimes were judged by the Council of Forty. But in the year 1624. one of the Nobles was accused of Pecular committed in one of their Governments, and the Avogadore in the pleading as he set forth his Crime, called him a Rogue and a Robber: yet tho his Crimes were manifest, there being but six and twenty Judges present, twelve only condemned him, and fourteen acquitted him, this gave great offence, for tho he was acquitted by his Judges, his Crimes were evident, so that his fame could not be restored: for the depositions of the Witnesses, and the Avogadores ( or the Attorney Generals ) charge were heard by the people; so it was proposed to make a difference between the Nobility and the other subjects; and since all Trials before the forty were publique, and the Trials before the Ten were in secret, it seemed fit to remit the Nobility to be tried by the Ten: Some foresaw that this would tend to a Tyranny, and raise the dignity of the ancient Families, of whom the Council of Ten is alwaies composed too high: therefore they opposed it upon this ground, that since the Council of Forty sent out many Orders to the Governours, it would very much lessen their

their authority, if they were not to be the Judges of those who were obliged to receive their Orders: but to qualifie this opposition, a Proviso was made that reserved to the Council of Forty, a power to Judge of the obedience that was given to their Orders, but all other accusations of the Nobility were remitted to the Council of Ten: and the body of the Nobility were so pleased with this distinction that was put between them and the other Subjects. that they did not see that this did really enslave them so much the more, and brought them under more danger: since those who judge in secret have a freer scope to their passions, than those whose proceedings are publique, and so are in effect judged by the Publique, which is often a very effectual restraint upon the Judges themselves. But the Council of Ten being generally in the hands of the great Families: whereas those of all sorts are of the Council of Forty, which was the chief Judicatory of the State, and is much Ancienter than that of Ten: it had been much more wisely done of them to have been still Judged by the Forty: And if they had thought it for their Honour, to have a difference made in the way of judging the Nobility, and the other Subjects, it had been more for their security to have brought their Trials to this, that whereas the Forty Judge all other Offenders with open doors, the Nobility should be judged, the doors being shut, which is a thing they very much desire now, but without any hope of ever obtaining it: For this power of Judging the Nobility is now considered as the Right of the Ten, and if any man would go about to change it, the Inquisitors would be perhaps very quick with him as a mover of Sedition, and be, in that case, both Judge, and Party; Yet the Inquisitors being apprehensive of the distast that this might breed in the body of the Nobility, have made a sort of regulation, tho it doth not amount to much; which is that the Nobility shall be Judged before the Council

Council of Ten for atrocious cases, such as matters of State, the robbing the Publique, and other enormous Crimes ; but that for all other matters they are to be Judged by the Forty : yet the Council of Ten draws all cases before them, and none dare dispute with them.

But this leads me to say a little to you of that part of this Constitution, which is so much censured by Strangers : but is really both the greatest glory, and the chief security of this Republique, which is the unlimited power of the Inquisitors, that extends not only to the Chief of the Nobility, but to the Duke himself, who is so subject to them, that they may not only give him severe reprimends, but search his Papers, make his Process, and in conclusion put him to Death without being bound to give an account of their proceedings, except to the Council of Ten. This is the dread not only of all the Subjects, but of the whole Nobility, and of all that bear Office in the Republique, and makes the greatest among them tremble, and so obligeth them to an exact conduct. But tho it is not to be denied that upon some occasions they may have been a little too sudden, particularly in the known story of *Foscarini*, yet such unjustifiable severities have occurred so seldom, that as the wisdom of this body in making and preserving such an institution, cannot be enough admired, so the dextrous conduct of those who manage this vast trust, so as not to force the body to take it out of their hands, is likewise highly to be wondred at. In short, the Insolences, the Factions, the Revenges, the Necessities and Ambition that must needs possess a great many Members of so vast a Body as is the Nobility of *Venice*, must have thrown them often into many fatal Convulsions, if it were not for the dread in which they all stand of this Court : which hath so many Spies abroad, chiefly among the Gondaliers, who cannot fail to discover all the secret commerce of *Venice* : besides the secret advices that are thrown in at so many of these

Lions Mouths that are in several places of *St. Mark's* Palace, within which there are Boxes that under the Keys of the Inquisitors, so that it is scarce possible for a man to be long in any design against the State, and not to be discovered by them. And when they find any in fault, they are so inexorable, and so quick as well as severe in their Justice, that the very fear of this is so effectual a restraint, that perhaps the long preservation of *Venice*, and of its Liberty, is owing to this single piece of their Constitution: and the Inquisitors are persons generally so distinguished for their merit who must be all of different Families; and their Authority lasts so short a while, that the advantages of this vast Authority that is lodged with them are constant and visible; whereas the unhappy instances of their being imposed on, and carrying their suspicions too far, are so few, that when ever the Nobility grows weary of this yoke, and throws it off, one may reckon the Glory and Prosperity of *Venice* at an end. It was terribly attacked not long ago by *Cornaro*, when *Jerom Cornaro* was put to death for his Correspondence with *Spain*; he was not near a-kin to the great Family of that Name, yet the Family thought their Honour was so much toucht when one of its remotest branches was condemn'd of Treason, that they offered a hundred thousand Crowns to have saved him, and by consequence to have preserved the Family from that Infamy; but tho this was not accepted, for he suffered as he well deserved, yet it was so visible that none of the Family were concerned in his Crimes, that it did not at all turn to their prejudice. But upon the first occasion that offered it self after that, to quarrel with the proceedings of the Inquisitors, they laid hold on it, and aggravated the matter extreamly, and moved for the limiting of their Authority, but the Great Council was wiser than to touch so sacred a part of the Government, so they retain their power very intire, but they manage it with  
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all possible caution; A Foreigner that hath been many years in their service told me that the Stories with which Strangers were frighted at the Arbitrary Power that was rested in those Inquisitors were slight things, in comparison of the advantages that they found from it: and after eleven years spent in their Service, he said, he never was so much as once sent for to receive a reprimend from them. And if the Nobility, that have any Commerce with Strangers, confess it sincerely to the Inquisitors, they are in no danger by it; but if they conceal it, or any main circumstances of it, their Process will be seen dispatched. These are the most remarkable things that I could pick up, during my stay at *Venice*. I have avoided to say any thing relating to their several Councils, Officers, and Judicatories, or to the other parts of their Government, which are to be found in all Books; and the forms by which they give their Votes by Ballot are so well known, that it were an abusing of your time to enlarge my self concerning them; nor was I sufficiently informed concerning the particulars of the Sale of Nobility that is now on foot since this last War with the Turks, which hath made them willing to take up once again this easie way of raising of Money: Nor could I give credit to that of which a person of great eminence there assured me, that there was a Poysoner General in *Venice*, that had a salary, and was employed by the Inquisitors to dispatch those against whom a publique proceeding would make too great a noise; this I could not believe, tho my Author protested that the Brother of one that was solicited to accept of the Employment, discovered it to him. There is no place in the World where Strangers live with more freedom, and I was amazed to see so little exactness among the Searchers of the Custom-house: for tho we had a Mullers-lead of Trunks, and Portmantles, yet none offered to ask us, either coming or going, what we were, or what we carried with us. But the

the best and Noblest entertainment that *Venice* afforded while I was there, was the company of Mr. *De la Haye* the French Embassador, who as he hath spent his whole life in publick Embassies, so he hath acquired so great a knowledge of the World, with so true a Judgment, and so obliging a Civility, that he may well pass for a Pattern; and it is no wonder to see him still engaged in a constant succession of publique Employments; and his Lady is so wonderful a person, that I pay them both but a very small part of what I owe them, in this acknowledgment, which I judge my self bound to make of their extraordinary civilities to me: and indeed without the advantage of such a rendezvous as I had there, a fortnights stay at *Venice* had been a very tedious matter. From *Venice* we went again to *Padua*; From thence to *Rotigo*, which is but a small Town, and so to the *Po*, which divides the Territory of the Republique, from the *Ferrarese*, which is now the Popes Country, and here one sees what a difference a good and a bad Government makes in a Country; for tho the soil is the same on both sides of the River, and the *Ferrarese* was once one of the beautifullest spots of all *Italy*, as *Ferrara* was one of its best Towns, while they had Princes of their own, who for a course of some Ages were Princes of such Eminent vertue, and of so Heroical a Nobleness that they were really the Fathers of their Conntry, nothing can be imagined more changed than all this is now. The soil is abandoned, and uncultivated, nor were there hands enough so much as to mow their Grass, which we saw withering in their Meadows to our no small wonder. We were amazed to see so rich a soil thus forsaken of its Inhabitants, and much more when we passed through that vast Town, which by its extent shews what it was about an Age ago, and is now so much deserted, that there are whole sides of Streets without Inhabitants, and the poverty of the place appears signally in the Churches, which are mean  
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and poorly adorned, for the superstition of *Italy* is so rarenous, and makes such a progress in this Age, that one may justly take the measures of the Wealth of any place from the Churches. The superstition or vanity of this Age is so much beyond that of the past, tho the contrary to this is commonly believed that all the vast Buildings of great Churches or rich Covents, and the surprizing wealth that appears in them on Festival daies are the donatives of the present Age; so that it is a vulgar error that some have taken up, who fancy that superstition is at a stand, if not in a decay, unless it be acknowledged that the craft of the Priests hath opened to them a new method to support their riches, when the old ones of Purgatory, and Indulgences were become less effectual in an Age of more knowledge, and better enlightned, and that is to engage men to an emulation and a vanity in enriching their Churches as much as other *Italians* have in the enriching their Palaces, so that as they have a pleasure as well as a vanity in seeing so much dead wealth in their Houses, they have translated the same humour to their Churches: and the vanity of the present Age that believes little or nothing of those contrivances of Purgatory, or the like, produceth the same if not greater effects in the building and enriching their Churches, and so carries it in expence and prodigality from the superstition of the former Ages that believed every thing. But to return to *Ferrara*. I could not but ask all I saw how it came, that so rich a Soil was so strangely abandoned, some said the Air was become so unhealthy, that those who stay in it were very short-liv'd; but it is well known that fourscore years ago it was well peopled; and the ill Air is occasioned by the want of Inhabitants, for there not being people to drain the ground, and to keep the Ditches clean, this makes that there is a great deal of water that lies on the ground and rots, which infects the Air in the same manner as is observed in that vast and rich, but uninhabited *Champaign* of *Rome*, so that the ill Air is the effect rather than the

the cause of the dispeopling of the Popes Dominions. The true cause is the severity of the Government, and the heavy Taxes, and frequent Confiscations by which the Nephews of several Popes, as they have devoured many of the Families of *Ferrara*, so they have driven away many more. And this appears more visibly by the different state as well as the Constitution of *Bologna*, which is full of people that abound in wealth, and as the Soil is extream rich, so it is cultivated with all due care. For *Bologna* delivered it self to the Popedom upon a capitulation, by which there are many privileges reserved to it. Crimes there are only punished in the persons of those who commit them, but there are no Confiscations of Estates; and tho the Authority, in Criminal matters, belongs to the Pope, and is managed by a Legat and his Officers; yet the Civil Government, the Magistracy, and the power of Judicature in Civil matters, is intirely in the hands of the State: And by this regulation it is, that as the riches of *Bologna* amazes a Stranger; it neither being on a Navigable River, by which it is not capable of much Trade, nor being the center of a Sovereignty where a Court is kept; so the Taxes that the Popes fetch from thence are so considerable, that he draws much more from the place of liberty, than from those where his Authority is unlimited and absolute, but that are by those means almost quite abandoned: for the greatness of a Prince or State rising from the numbers of the Subjects, those Maxims that retain the Subjects, and that draw Strangers to come among them, are certainly the truest Maxims for advancing the greatness of the Master. And I could not but with much scorn observe the folly of some Frenchmen, who made use of this argument to shew the greatness of their Nation, that one found many Frenchmen in all places to which one could come, whereas there were no *English* nor *Dutch*, no *Switzers*, and very few *Germans*: but this is just contrary to the right consequence that ought to be

be drawn from this observation. It is certain that few leave their Country and go to settle elsewhere, if they are not pressed with so much uneasiness at home that they cannot well live among their Friends and Kindred, so that a mild Government drives out no swarms: whereas it is the sure mark of a severe Government that weakens it self, when many of the Subjects find it so hard to subsist at home, that they are forced to seek that abroad, which they would much rather do in their own Country, if impositions, and other severities did not force them to change their habitations.

But to return to the wealth of *Bologna*, it appears in every corner of the Town, and all round it: tho its situation is not very favourable, for it lies at the foot of the *Appennins* on the North side, and is extream cold in Winter. The Houses are built as at *Padua* and *Bern*, so that one walks all the Town over covered under *Piazza's*; but the Walks here are both higher and larger than any where else: There are many Noble Palaces all over the Town, and the Churches, and Convents are incredibly rich: Within the Town the richest are the Dominicans, which is the chief house of the Order, where their Founders Body is laid in one of the best Chappels of *Italy*; and next to them are the Franciscans, the Servites, the Jesuites, and the Cannons Regular of *St. Salvator*. In this last there is a scrawl of the Hebrew Bible, which tho it is not the tenth part of the Bible, they fancy to be the whole Bible: And they were made believe by some Jew, that hath no doubt sold it at a high rate, that it was written by *Ezra's* own Hand, and this hath past long for current: But the Manuscript is only a fine Copy like those that the Jews use in their Synagogues; that may be perhaps three or four hundred years old: That part of it on which I cast my eye was the Book of *Esther*, so by the bulk of the Scrawl, I judged it to be the collection of those small Books of the Old Testament that the Jews set

set after the Law; but those of the house fancy they have a great treasure in it, and perhaps such Jews as have seen it are willing to laugh at their ignorance, and so suffer them to go on in their error. The chief Church in the Town is *St. Petrone's*, and there one sees the curious and exact Meridional-line, which that rare Astronomer *Cassini* laid along a great part of the pavement in a brass Circle: It marks the true point of mid-day from *June* to *January*, and is one of the best performances that perhaps the World ever saw. In the great square before the Church, on the one side of which is the Legates Palace, among other Statues one surprized me much, it was Pope *Juan*, which is so named by the People of the Town, it is true the learned Men say it is the Statue of Pope *Nicolas* the I V. who had indeed a Youthly and Womanish face. But as I looked at this Statue very attentively, through a little prospect that I carried with me, it appeared plainly to have the face of a young Woman, and was very unlike that of Pope *Nicholas* the I V. which is in *St. Maria Maggiore* at *Rome*: For the Statue of that Pope, tho' it hath no beard, yet hath an Age in it that is very much different from the Statue at *Bologna*. I do not build any thing on this Statue, for I do not believe that Story at all, and I my self saw in *England* a Manuscript of *Martinus Polonus*, who is one of the ancient Authors of this matter, which did not seem to be written long after the Authors time, in it this Story is not in the Text, but is added on the margin by another hand. On the Hill above *Bologna* stands the Monastery of *St. Michael* in *Bosco*, which hath a most charming scituation, and prospect, and is one of the best Monasteries in *Italy*; it hath many Courts, and one that is Cloistered, and is Octangular: which is so nobly painted in *Fresco*, that it is great pity to see such work exposed to the Air: All was retouched by the famous *Guido Reni*, yet it is now again much decayed, The Dormitory is very Magnificent:

nificent: the Chappel is little but very fine, and the  
 Stalls are richly carved. On the other side of *Bologna*,  
 in the Bottom, the *Carthusians* have also a very rich  
 Monastery: Four miles from *Bologna* there is a Madona  
 of *St. Lukes*, and because many go thither in great de-  
 votion, there is a portico a building, which is already  
 carried on almost half way: It is walled towards the  
 North, but stands on Pillars to the South, and is about  
 twelve foot broad, and fifteen foot high, which is car-  
 ried on very Vigorously, for in eight or ten years the  
 half is built, so that in a little time, the whole will be  
 very probably finished, and this may prove the begin-  
 ning of many such like Portico's in *Italy*, for things of  
 this kind want only a beginning, and when they are  
 once set on foot they do quickly spread themselves in  
 a Country that is so intirely subdued by superstition and  
 the artifices of their Priests. In *Bologna* they reckon  
 there are seventy thousand persons. I saw not one of  
 the chief glories of this place for the famous *Malapig-  
 bi* was out of Town while I was there. I saw a Play  
 there, but the Poesie was so bad, the Farces so rude,  
 and all was so ill acted, that I was not a little ama-  
 zed to see the Company express so great a satisfaction,  
 in that which would have been hiss'd off the Stage ei-  
 ther in *England*, or *France*. From *Bologna* we go eight  
 miles in a Plain, and then we ingage into that range of  
 Hills that carry the name of *Apenins*; tho that is strict-  
 ly given to one that is the highest: All the way to *Flo-  
 rence* this track of Hills continues, though there are  
 several bottoms, and some considerable Towns in them,  
 but all is up-hill and down-hill; and *Florence* it self is  
 just at the bottom of the last Hill. The high-ways all along  
 these Hills are kept in so very good case, that in few  
 of the best inhabited Countries doth one find the high-  
 waies so well maintained as in those forsaken Moun-  
 tains; but this is so great a passage that all that are  
 concerned in it find their account in the expence they  
 lay

lay out upon it. On the last of these Hills, though in a little bottom, in the midst of a Hill, stands *Prato*, no, one of the great Dukes Palaces; where the retreat in summer must be very agreeable, for the Air of these Mountains is extream thin and pure. The Gardens in *Italy* are made at a great cost, the Statues and Fountains are very rich and noble, the Grounds are well laid out, and the Walks are long and even: But as they have no Gravel to give them those firm and beautiful walks that we have in *England*, so the constant greenness of the Box doth so much please them, that they preferring the sight to the smell, have their Gardens so high fenced by Plots made with them, that there is no pleasure to walk in them; they also lay their walks so between Hedges, that one is much confined in them. I saw first in a Garden at *Vincenza*, that which I found afterwards in many Gardens in *Italy*, which was extream convenient, there went a course of Water round about the Walks, about a foot from the ground in a Channel of stone that went along the side of the Wall; and in this there were holes so made, that a pipe of white Iron or Wood put to them, conveyed the Water to such Plants, as in a dry season, needed watering; and a cock set the Water a running in this course, so that without the trouble of carrying Water, one person could easily manage the watering of a great Garden. *Florence* is a beautiful and noble Town, full of great Palaces, rich Churches, and stately Convents. The streets are paved in imitation of the old *Roman* high-waies, with great Stone bigger then our common pavement Stone, but much thicker, which are so hollowed in their joinings to one another, that Horses find fastning enough to their feet: There are many Statues and Fountains in the streets, so that in every corner one meets with many agreeable objects. I will not entertain you with a Description of the great Dukes Palace and Gardens, or of the old  
 l'alice



Palace and the Gallery that joyns to it, and of the vast Collection of Pictures, Statues, Cabinets, and other curiosities that must needs amaze every one that sees them: The Plate, and in particular the Gold Plate, and the great Coach, are all such extraordinary things that they would require a very copious Description: If that had not been done so often, that it were to a very little purpose to Copy what others have said: and these things are so exactly seen by every Traveller, that I can say nothing that is more particular of these subjects than you will find in the common Itineraries of all Travellers. The great *Dome* is a magnificent Building, but the Frontispiece to the great Gate is not yet made. The *Cupola*, is after *St. Peters*, the greatest and highest that I saw in *Italy*: It is three hundred foot high, and of a vast compass, and the whole Architecture of this Fabrick is very singular as well as regular. Only that which was intended to add to its beauty, lessned it very much in my thoughts: For the Walls that are all of Marble being of white and black Marble laid in different figures and orders, looked too like a livery, and had not that air of nobleness which in my opinion becomes so glorious a Fabrick. The Baptistery that stands before it was a Noble Heathen Temple; its Gates brass are the best of that sort that are in the World: There are so many Histories so well represented in bas reliefs in them, with so much exactness, the work is so natural and yet so fine, that a curious man could find entertainment for many daies, if he would examine the three Gates of this Temple, with a critical exactness. The *Annunziata*, *St. Marks*, *St. Croce*, and *St. Maria Novella*, are Churches of great Beauty and vast Riches: But the Church and Chappel of *St. Laurence* exceeds them all as much in the Riches within, as it is inferior to them in the outside which is quite flea'd, If I may so speak, but on design to give it a rich out-side of Marble. In a Chappel within this Church,

Church, the Bodies of the great Dukes lie deposited, till the famous Chappel is finished. But I was much scandalized to see Statues with nualities here, which I do not remember to have seen any where else in Churches. I will not offer at a description of the Glorious Chappel, which as it is without-doubt the richest piece of Building that perhaps the World ever saw, so it goes on so slowly, that though there are alwaies many at work, yet it doth not seem to advance proportionably to the number of the hands that are employed in it. Among the Statues that are to be in it, there is one of the Virgins made by *Michael Angela*, which represents her grief at the Passion of her Blessed Son, that hath the most life in it, of all the Statues I ever saw. But the famous Library that belongs to this Convent took up more of my time then all the other Curiosities of *Florence*; for here is a collection of many Manuscripts, most of them are Greek, that were gathered together by Pope *Clement* the VII. and given to his Country: There are very few Printed Books mixed with them; and those Books that are there, are so rare, that they are almost as curious as Manuscripts. I saw some of *Virgils* Poems in old Capitals. There is a Manuscript in which some parts both of *Tacitus* and *Apuleius* are written, and in one place, one in a different hand hath writ that he had compared those Manuscripts: and he adds a date to this in *Olibrius's* time, which is about twelve hundred years ago. I found some dipthongs in it cast into one Letter, which surprized me; for I thought that way of writing them had not been so antient: But that which pleased me most was that the Library-keeper assured me that one had lately found the famous Epistle of *St. Chrysostom* to *Cesarinus* in Greek, in the end of a Volume full of other things, and not among the Manuscripts of that Fathers Books of which they have a great many. He thought he remembered well the place where the Book stood; so

we turned over all the Books that stood near it, but I found it not: He promised to look it out for me if I came back that way: But I changing my design, and going back another way, could not see the bottom of this. It is true the famous *Magliabechi* who is the Great Dukes Library-keeper, and is a person of most wonderful civility and full of candor as well as he is learned beyond imagination assured me that this could be no other then a mistake of the Library-keepers; he said such a discovery could not have been made without making so much noise that he must have heard of it. He added there was not one man in *Florence* that either understood Greek, or that examined Manuscripts, so that he assured me I could not build on what an ignorant Library-keeper had told me: So I set down this matter as I found it without building much on it. *Florence* is much sunk from what it was, for they do not reckon that there are above fifty thousand Souls in it: and the other States that were once great Republicks, such as *Siena* and *Pisa*, while they retained their liberty, are now shrunk almost into nothing: It is certain that all three together are now not so numerous, as any one of them was two hundred years ago. *Leghorn* is full of People: and all round *Florence* there are a great many Villages; but as one goes over *Tuscany*, it appears so dispeopled, that one cannot wonder to find a Country that hath been a Scene of so much action, and so many Wars, now so forsaken and so poor, and that in many places the Soil is quite neglected for want of hands to cultivate it: And in other places where there are more people, they look so poor, and their houses are such miserable ruins, that it is scarce accountable how there should be so much poverty in so rich a Country, which is all over full of Beggars: And here the stile of begging was a little altered from what I found it in *Lombardy*; for whereas there they begged for the sake of *St. Anthony*, here all begged for the Souls

Souls that were in Purgatory, and this was the stile in all the other parts of *Italy* through which I passed. In short the dispeopling of *Tuscany*, and most of the Principalities of *Italy*, but chiefly of the Popes Dominions, which are more abandoned then any other part of *Italy*, seemed to flow from nothing but the severity of the Government and the great decay of Trade: for the greatest Trade of *Italy* being in silk, the vast importation of Silks that the *East-India* Companies bring into Europe, hath quite ruined all those that deal in this manufacture: Yet this is not the chief cause of the dispeopling of those rich Countries, the severity of the Taxes is the true reason: notwithstanding all that decay of Trade, the Taxes are still kept up. Besides this, the vast Wealth of the Convents, where the only people of *Italy* are to be found, that live not only at their ease, but in great plenty and luxury, makes many forsake all sort of industry, and seek for a recreation of those seats of pleasure; so that the people do not increase fast enough to make a new race to come instead of those whom a hard Government drives away. It must needs surprize an unattentive Traveller to see not only the *Venetian* Territory; which is indeed a rich Country, but the *Baliages* of the *Switzers*, and the Coast of *Genoa* so full of people, when *Tuscany*, the *Patrimony*, and the Kingdom of *Naples* have so few Inhabitants. In the Coast of *Genoa*, there is for many miles as it were a constant tract of Towns and Villages, and all those are well peopled, tho they have scarce any soil at all, lying under the Mountains that are very barren, and that expose them to a most uneasy Sun; and that they lie upon a boistrous Sea that is almost alwaies in a storm, and that affords very few fish: And yet the gentleness of the Government draws such multitudes thither, and those are so full of wealth, that money goes at two *Per cent*. But on the other hand to ballance this a little, so strange and wild a thing is the nature of man,

man, at least of *Italians*, that I was told that the worst people of all *Italy* are the *Genoeses*, and the most generally corrupted in their Morals, as to all sorts of Vice, so that tho a severe Government, and Slavery are contrary to the nature of man, and to human Society, to Justice and Equity; and to that essential equality that nature hath made among men: Yet on the other hand all men cannot bear that ease and liberty that become the human nature. The superstition of *Italy*, and the great wast of wealth that one sees in their Churches, particularly those prodigious masses of Plate with which their Altars are covered on holidays, doth also sink their Trade extreamly; for silver, being in Commerce, what blood is in the body, when so much of that is dead and circulates no more; it is no wonder if such an extravasation (if I may use so long and so hard a word) of silver, occasions a great deadness in Trade. I had almost forgot one remark that I made in the last Hill of the *Appenins*, just above *Florence*, that I never saw such tall and big Cypresses any where as grew over all that Hill, which seemed a little strange, that tree being apt to be starved by a cold Winter among us, and and there the Winters are severe. All the way in *Tuscany* is very rugged, except on the sides of the *Arne*. But the uneasiness of the Road is much qualified by the great care that is had of the highwaies, which are all in very good case: the Inns are wretched and ill furnished both for Lodging and Diet. This is the plague of all *Italy* when once one hath passed the *Appenins*: for, except in the great Towns, one really suffers so much that way, that the pleasure of Travelling is much abated by the inconveniences that one meets in every stage through which he passes. I am

S I R,

*Tours;*

THE



# THE FOURTH LETTER.

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*From Rome, the 8th. of December,  
1685.*

I Am now in the last Stage of my voyage over *Italy*; for since my last from *Florence* I have not only got hither, but have been in *Naples*, and have now satisfied my curiosity so fully, that I intend to leave this place within a day or two, and go to *Civita Vecchia*, and from thence by Sea to *Marseilles*, and so avoid an unpleasant Winters journey over the *Alps*. It is true I lose the sight of *Turin*, *Genoa*, and some other Courts; but tho' I am told these deserve well the pains of the journey, yet when one rises from a great Meal, no Delicacies, how much soever they might tempt him at another time, can provoke his appetite: So I confess freely, that the sight of *Naples* and *Rome* have so set my stomach that way, that the curiosity of seeing new places is now very low with me; and indeed these that I have of late seen are such, that places which at another time would please me much, would now make but a slight and cold impression.

All the way from *Florence* through the Great  
G
Duke's

Duke's Countrey looked so sad, that I concluded must be the most dispeopled of all *Italy*; but indeed changed my note when I came into the Pope's Territories at *Pont Concino*, where there was a rich bottom all uncultivated, and not so much as stocked with Cattle. But as I passed from *M. Fiascone* to *Viterbo* this appeared yet more amazing; for a vast Champian Countrey lay almost quite deserted: And the wide Town which is of so great a compass, hath so few Inhabitants, and those look so poor and miserable, that the people in the ordinary Towns of *Scotland*, and in the worst places, make a better appearance. When I was within a days journey of *Rome* I fancied that the Neighborhood of so great a City must mend the matter; but I was much disappointed, for a Soil that was so rich, and lay so sweet, that it far exceeded any thing I ever saw out of *Italy*, had neither Inhabitants in it, nor Cattle upon it, to the tenth part of what it could bear. The surprise that this gave me, increased on me as I went out of *Rome* on its other side, chiefly all the way to *Naples*, and on the way to *Civita Vecchia*; for that vast and rich Champian Countrey that runs all along to the *Tiracina*, which from *Civita Vecchia* is above a hundred miles long, and is in many places twelve or twenty miles broad, is abandoned to such a degree, that as far as ones eye can carry one there is often not much as a House to be seen; but on the Hills that are on the North-side of this Valley, and by this dispeopling of the Countrey, the Air is now become unwholsom, that it is not safe to be a night in it Summer long; for the water that lies upon many places not being drained, it rots; and in the Summer this produces so many noisom steams, that it is felt even in *Rome* itself; and if it were not for the breezes that come from the Mountains, the Air would be



be intolerable. When one sees all this large, but wast  
 Country from the Hill of *Marino* twelve miles be-  
 yond *Rome*, he cannot wonder enough at it. In a  
 word, it is the rigor of the Government that hath  
 driven away the Inhabitants, and their being driven  
 away hath now reduced it to such a pass, that it is  
 hardly possible to re-people it; for such as would  
 come to drain & cultivate it, must run a great hazard;  
 And few can resolve on that, when they can hope for no  
 other reward of their industry but an uneasy Go-  
 vernment. It is the greatest *Solecism* in Government  
 for the Prince to be *Elective*, and yet *Absolute*; For  
 a *Hereditary Prince* is induced to consider his Poste-  
 rity, and to maintain his People so that those that  
 come after him may still support the rank which  
 they hold in the world: but an *Elective Prince* hath  
 nothing of that in his eye, unless he hath a pitch  
 of Generosity which is not ordinary among men, and  
 least of all among *Italians*, who have a passion for  
 their Families which is not known in other  
 places. And thus a Pope, who comes in late re-  
 to his Dignity, which by consequence he can-  
 not hope to hold long, doth very naturally turn  
 to those Councils, by which his Family may make  
 the Hay they can during this Sun-shine: And  
 so anciently the Cardinals were a check upon the  
 Pope, and a sort of a Council without whom he  
 could do nothing even in Temporals; yet now they  
 are quite lost that, and they have no other share  
 in affairs then that to which the Pope thinks fit to  
 admit them, so that he is the most absolute Prince  
 in Europe. It is true as to Spiritu-als they re-  
 tain still a large share, so that in censures and de-  
 nominations the Pope can do nothing regularly without  
 their concurrence; tho' it is certain that they have  
 not so good a Title to pretend to that as to a share

in the Temporal Principality. For if the Pope gives any thing from St. Peter, all that is singly himself, and it is free to him to proceed by what method he thinks best; since the infallibility according to their pretensions, rests singly in him: because there was not so much to be got by an Arbitrary in those matters, and a summary way of exercising this Authority, might have tempted the World to have enquired too much into the ground on which it was built: therefore the Popes have let the Cardinals retain still a share in this Supremacy over the Church, though they have no claim to it neither by any Divine nor Ecclesiastical warrant. But as for the endowments of the See of Rome, which they may justly lay claim, as being in a manner the Chapter of that See; there is so much to be got by this, that the Popes have ingrossed it wholly to themselves: and thus it is that the Government of this Principality is very unsteady: Sometimes the Popes Family are extremely glorious and magnificent, at other times they think of nothing but establishing their House; sometimes the Pope is a man of sense himself, sometimes he is quite silly, and (as the last Pope was) he becomes a Child through old age; sometimes he hath a particular stiffness of temper, with a great slowness of understanding, and an insatiable desire of heaping wealth, which is the Character of him that reigns. By this diversity which appears eminent in every new Pontificate, that commonly avoids the excesses that made the former Reign odious, the Councils of the Popedom are weak and disjoynt. But if this is sensible to all Europe, with relation to the general concerns of that Body, it is much more visible in the Principality it self, that is subject to so variable a Head. There hath been in this Age

Succession of four ravenous Reigns; and tho' there was a short interruption in the Reign of the *Rospigliosi*, that coming after the *Barberines*, the *Pamphili*, and the *Giberti's*, did not enrich it self; and yet it disordered the Revenue (by the vast magnificence in which he reigned) more in twenty-nine months time, than any other had done in so many years. The *Altieri* did, in a most scandalous manner, raise themselves in a very short and despised Reign, and built one of the Noblest Palaces in *Rome*. He that reigns now doth not indeed raise his Family avowedly, but he doth not ease the people of their Taxes; And as there is no Magnificence in his Court, nor any publick Buildings now carrying on at *Rome*, so the many vacant Caps occasion many empty Palaces; and by this means there is so little expence now made at *Rome*, that it is not possible for the people to live and pay the Taxes, which hath driven (as is believed) almost a fourth part of the Inhabitants out of *Rome*, during this Pontificate: And as the presumption of the Corn makes that there is no profit made by the owners out of the cultivation of the Soil, all that going wholly to the Pope, so there are no ways left here of employing ones money to any considerable advantage; for the publick Banks, which are all in the Pope's hand, do not pay in effect three *per cent*, tho' they pretend to give four *per cent* of Interest: the settlement is indeed four *per cent*, and this was thought so great an advantage, that Actions on the Pope's Bank were bought at a hundred and sixteen the hundred: But this Pope broke through all this, and declared he would give all men their money again, unless they would pay him thirty *per cent* for the continuing of this Interest; and thus for a hundred Crowns Principal one not only paid at first one hundred and six-

teen, but afterwards thirty, in all one hundred and forty for the hundred, which is almost the half lost; for whensoever the Pope will pay them back their money, all the rest is lost. And while I was here there is a report that the Pope is treating with the *Genoefes* for money at two per cent, and if he agree it on those terms, then he will pay his debts; and the Subjects that have put in money in this Bank will (by this means) lose six and forty per cent, which is almost the half of their stock. A man of Quality at *Rome*, and an eminent Church-man, (who told me likewise for one of their Clergy, because I was the Habit of a Church-man) said, *That it was a horrible scandal to the whole Christian world, and made one doubt of the Truth of the Christian Religion, to see more Oppression and Cruelty in their Territory, than was to be found even in Turkey; tho' it being in the hands of Christ's Vicar, one should expect to find the pattern of a mild and gentle Government: And how (said he) can a man expect to find his Religion here, where the common Maxims of Justice and Mercy were not so much as known?* And I can never forget the lively reflection that a *Roman* Prince made to me upon the folly of all those severe Oppressions, which as they drive away the Inhabitants, so they reduce those that are left to such a degeneracy of Spirit by their necessities, that the *Spaniards*, whose Dominions look so big in the Map, are now brought so low, and if they had kept the possession they once had in the *United Netherlands*, they would signify more towards their Preservation, than their other Provinces did, which by their unskillful conduct they have both dispeopled and exhausted; whereas by their losing those seven Provinces, those States have fallen upon such wise Notions of Government, and have drawn so much Wealth, and such numbers

of people together, that *Spain* it self was now preserved by them, and was saved in this Age by the loss it made of those Provinces in the last, and those States that if they had remained subject to *Spain* would have signified little to its support, did that now much more considerably by being Allies, than they could have done if they had not shaken off their Yoke.

Indeed if *Spain* had been so happy as to have such Vice-Roys and Governours as it has now in *Naples*, their affairs could not have declined so fast as they have done. The Marquess of *Carpi* in his youth intended to have taken so severe a revenge of an injury that he thought the late King of *Spain* did him in an Amour, that he designed the blowing him up by Gunpowder when he was in the Council-Chamber; but that Crime was discovered in time, and was not only forgiven him in consideration of the greatness of his Family, he being the Son of Don *Lewis de Haro*, but after that he was made for several years Ambassador in *Rome*. He is now Vice-Roy of *Naples*, and is the only Governour of all the places through which I passed that is (without exception) beloved and esteemed by all sorts of people; for during the few years of his Ministry, he hath redressed such abuses that seemed past cure, and that required an Age to correct them. He hath repressed the insolence of the *Spaniards* so much at *Naples*, that the Natives have no occasion to complain of the haughtiness of their Masters; for he proceeds against the *Spaniards* with no less severity, when they give cause for it, than against the *Neapolitans*. He hath taken the Pay of the Souldiers so immediately into his own care, that they (who before his coming were half naked, and robbed such as passed on the streets of *Naples* in the day-light) are now exactly paid,

Paid, well disciplined, and so decently clothed, that it is a pleasure to see them. He examines their Masters also so exactly, that he is sure not to be cheated by false Lits. He hath brought the Markets and Weights of *Naples* to a true exactness; and whereas the Bread was generally too light, he has sent for Loaves out of the several places of the Markets, and weighed them himself, and by some severe punishments on those that sold the Bread too light, he hath brought this matter to a just regulation. He hath also brought the Courts of Judicature, that were thought generally very corrupt, to reputation again, and it is believed he hath Spies to watch, in case the trade of Bribes is found to be still going on. He hath fortified the Palace, which was before his time so much exposed, that it would have been no hard thing to have made a descent upon it. But the two things that raise his reputation most, are his extirpating of the *Banditti*, and the regulation of the Coyn, which he hath taken in hand. It is well enough known what a plague the *Banditti* have been to the Kingdom; for they going in Troops, not only robbed the Countrey, but were able to resist an ordinary Body of Souldiers if they had set on them. These travelled about seeking for Spoil all the Summer long, but in Winter they were harboured by the *Neapolitan* Barons, who gave them Quarters, and thereby did not only protect their own Lands, but had them as so many Instruments ready to execute their revenges on their Enemies. This was well known at *Naples*, and there was a Council that had the care of reducing the *Banditti* committed to them; who as they caught some few and hanged them, so they fined such Barons as gave them harbour, and it was believed that those Fines amounted to near a hundred and fifty thousand

Crowns

Crowns a year; and thus the Disease went on, only  
 now and then there was a little Blood let, which  
 never went to the bottom of the Distemper. But  
 when the present Vice-Roy entred upon the Govern-  
 ment, he resolved to extirpate all the *Banditti*, and  
 he first let all the Barons understand, that if they  
 harboured them any more, a little Fine would not save  
 them, but that he would proceed against them with the  
 utmost severity; and by this means the *Banditti*  
 could find no Winter-quarters: So they betook  
 themselves to some fastnesses among the Hills, and  
 resolved to make good the Passes, and to accomo-  
 date themselves the best they could amidst the  
 Mountains. The Vice-Roy sent a great Body a-  
 gainst them, but they defended themselves for some  
 time vigorously, and in one Sally they killed five  
 hundred men; but at last, seeing that they were  
 hard-pressed, and that the Vice-Roy intended to come  
 against them in person, they accepted of the terms  
 that he offered them; which was, a Pardon for what  
 was past both as to Life and Gallies, and six pence a  
 day for their entertainment in Prison, during life, or the  
 Vice-Roy's pleasure; and so they rendred themselves.  
 They are kept in a large Prison, and now and then,  
 as he sees cause for it, he sends some few of them up  
 and down to serve in Garisons. And thus, beyond  
 all mens expectation, he finished this matter in a  
 very few months, and the Kingdom of Naples, that  
 had been so long a Scene of Pillage and Robbery,  
 is now so much changed, that in no place of Europe  
 do the Subjects enjoy a more entire security. As for  
 the Coyn, it (as all the other *Spanish* money) is so  
 subject to clipping, that the whole money of Naples  
 is now light, and far below the true value; so the  
 Vice-Roy hath resolved to redress this. He consi-  
 ders that the crying down of money, that passeth  
 upon

upon the publick credit, is a robbing of those in whose hands the money happens to be when such Proclamations are put out; and therefore he takes a method that is more general, in which every one will bear a share, so that none will be crushed by it. He hath laid some Taxes on the whole Kingdom, and hath got a great many to bring in some Plate to be Coined: and when he hath thus prepared such a quantity, as may serve for the circulation that is necessary, he intends to call in all the old Money, and to give out new Money for it. Thus doth this Viceroy set such a pattern to the other Ministers of the Crown of *Spain*, that if many would follow it, the State of their Affairs would be soon altered.

The Kingdom of *Naples* is the richest part of all *Italy*, for the very Mountains that are near the half of the Soil are fruitful, and produce either Wine or Oyl in great abundance. *Apulia* is a great Country, but it is excessive hot, and in some years all is burnt up. The *Jesuits* are the Proprietors of near the half of *Apulia*, and they treat their Tenants with the same rigour that the Barons of this Kingdom do generally use towards their Farmers. The Commons here are so miserably oppressed, that in many places they die of Hunger, even amidst the great plenty of their best years, for the Corn is exported to *Spain*: but neither the *Spaniards*, nor the *Neapolitans* understand Trade so well as to be their own Merchants or Carriers, so that the *English* do generally carry away the profit of this Trade. The Oyl of this Kingdom is still a vast Trade, and the Manufacture of the Wool and Soap of *England* consumes yearly some Thousands of Tuns. The Silk Trade is so low that it only serves themselves,



but the Exportation is inconsiderable: The sloth and laziness of this People, renders them incapable of making those advantages of so rich a Soil, that a more industrious sort of People would find out: For it amazes a Stranger to see in their little Towns, the whole men of the Town walking in the Market places in their torn Cloaks, any doing nothing; and tho' in some big Towns, such as *Capua*, there is but one Inn, yet even that is so miserable, that the best Room and Bed in it is so bad, that our Footmen in *England* would make a greivous outcry if they were no better lodged; nor is there any thing to be had in them: the Wine is intollerable, the Bread ill Baked, no Victuals except Pigeons, and the Oyl is rotten. In short, except one carries his whole Provision from *Rome* or *Naples*, he must resolve to indure a good deal of misery in the four days Journey that is between those two places. And this is what a Traveller, that sees the richness of the Soil, cannot comprehend: but as they have not hands enough for their Soil, so those they have are generally so little employed, that it is no wonder to see their Soil produce so little, that in the midst of all that abundance that Nature hath set before them, they are one of the poorest Nations of *Europe*. But besides this which I have named, the vast and dead Wealth that is in the Hands of the Churchmen, is another evident cause of their misery. One that knew the State of this Kingdom well, assured me that if it were divided into five parts, upon a strict survey it would be found that the Churchmen had four parts of the five, which he made out thus, they have in Soil above the half of the whole, which is two and a half; and in Tiths and Gifts and Legacies, they have one and a half more, for no man dieth without leaving a considerable Legacy to some Church

Church, or some Convent. The Wealth that one sees in the City of *Naples* alone passeth Imagination: there are four and twenty Houses of the Order of the *Dominicans* of both Sexes, and two and twenty of the *Franciscans*, seven of the *Jesuits* besides the Convents of the *Olivitanes*, the *Theatines*, the *Carmelites*, the *Benedictines*: and above all for science and riches, the *Carthusians* on the top of the Hill that lieth over the Town. The riches of the *Annunciata* are prodigious; it is the greatest Hospital in the World, the Revenue is said to be for hundred thousand Crowns a year; the number of the Sick is not so great as at *Milan*: Yet one convenience for the Sick I observed in their Galleries which was considerable, that every Bed stood as an Alcove, and had a Wall on both sides separating it from the Beds on both Hands, and as much space of both sides of the Bed, that the Bed it took up but half the Room. The young Children that they maintain are so many, that one can hardly believe the numbers that they boast of; for the talk of many Thousands that are not seen, but at Nurse: a great part of the Wealth of this Hospital goeth to the enriching their Church, which will all over within crusted with inlayings of lovely Marble, in a great variety and beauty of Colours. The Plate that is in the Treasure here and in the *Dome*, (which is but a mean building because it is ancient, but hath a Noble Chappel, and a vast Treasury) and in a great many other Churches, are so prodigious, that upon the modestest estimate, the Plate of the Churches of *Naples* amounts to eight Millions of Crowns. The new Church of the *Jesuits*, that of *St. John* the Apostle, and that of *St. Paul*, are surprizingly rich; the Guilding and Painting that on the Roofs of those Churches, have cost millions

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 And as there are about a hundred Convents in *Naples*, so every one of these, if it were in another place, would be thought well worth seeing, tho' the Riches of the greater Convents here, make many of them to be less visited. Every year there is a new Governour of the *Annunciata*, who perhaps puts in his own Pocket twenty thousand Crowns; and to make some compensation when he goeth out of Office, he giveth a vast piece of Plate to the House, a statue for a Saint in Silver, or some Coloss of a Can-  
 dlestick, for several of those pieces of Plate are said to be worth ten thousand Crowns; and thus all the Silver of *Naples* becomes dead and useless. The *Je-  
 suits* are great Merchants here; their Wine-Cellar is a vast Vault, and holds above a thousand Hogf-  
 heads, and the best Wine of *Naples* is so'd by them; yet they do not retail it out so scandalously as the *Minims* do, who live on the great Square before the Vice-Roy's Palace, and sell out their Wine by retail: they pay no Duty, and have extraordinary good Wine, and are in the best place of the Town for this retail. It is true the *Neapolitans* are no great Drinkers, so the profits of this Tavern are not so great as they would be in colder Countreys; for here men go only in for a draught in the mornings, or when they are athirst. Yet the House groweth extreme rich, and hath one of the finest Chappels that is in all *Naples*; but the Trade seems very unbecoming men of that Profession, and of so strict an Order. The Convents have a very particular Privilege in this Town; for they may buy all the Houses that lie on either side, till the first street that discontinueth the Houses; and there being scarce a street in *Naples* in which there is not a Convent, by this means they may come to buy in the whole

whole Town: And the progress that the Wealth of the Clergy makes in this Kingdom is so visible, that if there is not some stop put to it, within an Age they will make themselves Masters of the whole Kingdom. It is an amazing thing to see to prevail an ignorance as reigns among the Clergy; for tho' all the secular persons here speak of them with all possible scorn, yet they are the Masters of the spirits of the people. The Women are infinitely superstitious, and give their Husbands no rest, but as they draw from them great Presents to the Church. It is true there are Societies of men at *Naples* of freer thoughts than can be found in any other place of *Italy*. The Greek Learning begins to flourish there, and the new Philosophy is much studied; and there is an Assembly that is held in D. *Joseph Valleta's* Library (where there is a vast Collection of well-chosen Books) composed of men that have a right taste of true Learning and good Sense: They are ill looked on by the Clergy, and represented as a *Sett of Atheists*, and as the Spawn of *Pomponatius's* School; but I found no such thing among them, for I had the Honour to meet twice or thrice with a considerable number of them, during the short stay that I made among them. There is a learned Lawyer, *Francisco Andria*, that is considered as one of the most inquisitive men of the Assembly: There is also a Grandchild of the Great *Alciat*, who is very curious as well as learned. Few Church-men come into this attempt for the reviving of Learning among them; on the contrary, it is plain that they dread it above all things: only one eminent Preacher, *Rinaldi*, that is Arch-Deacon of *Capua*, associates himself with them. He was once of the *Jesuit Order*, but

Wealth; and as that alone served to give a good character of him to me, so upon a long conversation with him I found a great many other things that possessed me with a high value for him. Some Physicians in *Naples* are brought under the scandal of Atheism; and it is certain that in *Italy* men of searching understandings, who have no other Idea of the Christian Religion but that which they see received among them, are very naturally tempted to disbelieve it quite; for they believing it all alike in gross without distinction, and finding such notorious cheats as appear in many parts of their Religion, are upon that induced to disbelieve the whole. The teachings of the Monks in *Naples* are terrible things. I saw a *Jesuit* go in a sort of a Procession, with a great company about him, and calling upon that he saw to follow him, to a place where a Mountebank was selling his Medicines, near whom he took his room, and entertained the people with a sort of a Farce, till the Mountebank got him to give over, fearing lest his action should grow tedious, and disperse the company that was brought together. There are no famous Preachers, nor men of any Reputation for Learning, among the *Jesuits*. I was told they had not men capable to teach their schools, and that they were forced to hire strangers: the Order of the *Oratory* hath not that reputation in *Italy* that it hath gained in *France*; and the little learning that is among the Clergy in *Naples*, is among some few Secular Priests.

The new method of *Molinos* doth so much prevail in *Naples*, that it is believed he hath twenty thousand followers in this City; and since this hath made some noise in the world, and yet is general

rally but little understood, I will give you some account of him. He is a *Spanish* Priest that seems to be but an ordinary Divine, and is certainly a very Reasoner when he undertakes to prove his Opinions. He hath writ a Book, which is intituled *Guida Spirituale*, which is a short Abstract of the Mystical Divinity; the substance of the whole is reduced to this, *That in our Prayers and other Devotions the best methods are to retire the mind from all gross Images, and so to form an act of Faith, and thereby to present our selves before God; and then to sink into a silence, and cessation of new acts, and let God act upon us, and so to follow his conduct.* This way he prefers to the multiplication of many new acts, and different forms of Devotion; and he makes small account of corporal austerities, and reduces all the exercises of Religion to this simplicity of mind. He thinks this is not only to be proposed to such as live in Religious Houses, but even to Secular persons, and by this he hath proposed a great reformation of mens minds and manners: He hath many Priests in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Naples*, that dispose them who confess themselves to them to follow his methods. The *Jesuits* have set themselves much against this conduct, as foreseeing that it may weaken the Empire that Superstition hath over the minds of people, that it may make Religion become a more plain and simple thing, and may also open a door to *Enthusiasms*; they also pretend that his conduct is factious and seditious, that this may breed a Schism in the Church. And because he saith in some places of his Book, *that the mind may rise up to such a simplicity in its acts, that it may rise in some of its Devotion to God immediately, without contemplating the Humanity of Christ,* they

they have accused him, as intending to lay aside the  
 Doctrine of Christ's Humanity, tho it is plain that  
 he speaks only of the Purity of some single Acts:  
 Upon all those Heads they have set themselves a-  
 much against *Molinus*; and they have also pretend-  
 ed that some of his Disciples have infused it into  
 their Penitents, that they may go and communi-  
 cate as they find themselves disposed without go-  
 ing first to Confession, which they thought weakned  
 much the yolk by which the Priests subdue the  
 Consciences of the People to their Conduct. Yet  
 he was much supported both in the Kingdom of  
 Naples and in *Sicily*; he had also many Friends and  
 Followers at *Rome*. So the *Jesuits*, as a Provincial  
 of the Order assured me, finding they could not  
 ruin him by their own force, got a great King, that  
 is now extreamly in the Interests of their Order, to  
 interpose, and to represent to the Pope the danger  
 of such Innovations. It is certain the Pope under-  
 stands the matter very little, and that he is posses-  
 sed with a great Opinion of *Molino's* Sanctity, yet  
 upon the complaints of some Cardinals, that second-  
 ed the Zeal of that King, he and some of his fol-  
 lowers were clapt in the Inquisition, where they  
 have been now for some Months, but they are still  
 well used, which is believed to flow from the good  
 Opinion that the Pope hath of him, who saith still,  
 that though he may have erred, yet he is certainly  
 a good man: Upon this Imprisonment *Pasquin* said  
 a pleasant thing; in one Week, one man had been  
 condemned to the Gallies for somewhat he had said,  
 another had been hanged for somewhat he had writ,  
 and *Molinus* was clapt in Prison, whose Doctrine  
 consisted chiefly in this, that men ought to bring  
 their minds to a State of inward quietness, from  
 which

which the Name of Quietists was given to all their followers: The *Pasquinade* upon all this was, *parliamo in Galere, si scrivemmo Impiccati, si stiamo in quiete all' Sant' Officio, e che bisogna fore. If we Speak we are sent to the Gallies, if we Write we are Hanged, If we stand quiet we are clapt up in the Inquisition; what must we do then?* Yet his Followers at Naples are not daunted, but they believe he will come out of this Tryal Victorious.

The City of Naples, as it is the best scituated, and in the best Climate, so it is one of the Noblest Cities of Europe, and yet it is not above half as big as Paris or London, yet it hath much more Beauty than either of them: The Streets are large and broad, the Pavement is Great and Noble, the Stone being generally above a foot Square; and it is full of Palaces and great Buildings: The Town is well supplied by daily Markets, so that Provisions are ever fresh and in great plenty; the Wine is the best of Europe, and both the Fish and Flesh is extremely good: It is scarce ever cold in Winter, and there is a fresh Air comes both from the Sea and the Mountains in Summer. The Viceroy's Palace is no extraordinary Building, only the Stair-case is great; but it is now very richly furnished within in Picture and Statues; there are in it some Statues of the Egyptian Deities, of Touch-stone, that are of great value. There are no great Antiquities here, only there is an ancient Roman Portico that is very Noble before St. Paul's Church: But without the City, near the Church and Hospital of St. Genaro, that is without the Gates, are the Noble Catacombs, which because they were beyond any thing I saw in Italy, and to which the Catacombs of Rome are not



to be compared, and since I do not find any account of them in all the Books that I have yet seen concerning *Naples*, I shall describe them more particularly.

They are vast and long Galleries cut out of the Rock: there are three Stories of them one above another. I was in two of them, but the Rock is fallen in the lowest, so that one cannot go into it, but I saw the passage to it: These Galleries are generally about twenty foot broad, and about fifteen foot high; so that they are Noble and Spacious places, and not little and narrow as the Catacombs at *Rome*, which are only three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. I was made believe that these Catacombs of *Naples*, went into the Rock nine mile long; but for that I have it only by report: yet if that be true, they may perhaps run towards *Puzzolo*, and so they may have been the Burial places of the Towns on that Bay; but of this I have no certainty. I walked indeed a great way, and found Galleries going off in all Hands without end, and whereas in the Roman Catacombs there are not above three or four rows of Niches that are cut out in the Rock one over another, into which the dead Bodies were laid; Here there are generally six or seven rows of those Niches, and they are both larger and higher; some Niches are for Childrens Bodies, and in many places there are in the Floors as it were great Chests hewn out of the Rock, to lay the Bones of the dead as they dried, in them; but I could see no marks either of a cover for these Holes that looked like the Bellies of Chests, or of a facing to shut up the Niches when a dead Body was laid in them; so that it seems.

seems they were monstrous unwholsom and stinking places, where some Thousands of Bodies lay rotting, without any thing to shut in so loathsome a sight, and so odious a smell: For the Niches shew plainly that the Bodies were laid in them only wrapt in the dead Cloaths, they being too low for Coffins. In some places of the Rock there is as if there were a little Chappel hewen out in the Rock, that goes off from the common Gallery, and there are Niches all round about; but I saw no marks of any Wall that shut in such places, tho I am apt to think these might be burying places appropriated to particular Families. There is in some places on the Wallis and Arch, Old Mosaick Work, and some Painting, the Colours are fresh, and the manner and characters are *Gothick*, which made me conclude that this might have been done by the *Normans* about Six Hundred Years ago, after they drove out the *Saracens*: In some places there are Palm-trees painted, and Vines in other places. The freshness of the Colours shews these could not have been done while this place was imployed for burying, for the steams and rottenness of the Air, occasioned by so much corruption, must have dissolved both Plaister and Colours. In one place there is a man painted with a little Beard, and *Paulus* is written by his head: there is another reaching him a Garland, and by his Head *Laud* is written, and this is repeated in another place right over against it. In another place I found a Cross painted, and about the upper part of it these Letters J. C. X. O. and in the lower part N. J. K. A. are painted: A Learned Antiquary that went with me, agreed with me that the manner of the Painting and Characters did not seem to be above six Hundred years old; but neither of us knew what

what to make of these Letters. The lower seemed to relate to the last word of the Vision, which is said that *Constantine* saw, with the Cross that appeared to him : But tho' the first two Letters might be for *Jesus*, it being ordinary in old Coyns and Inscriptions to put a C for an S, and X stands for Christ, yet we knew not what to make of the O, unless it were for the Greek *Theta*, and that the little line in the bosom of the *Theta* was worn out, and then it stands for *Theos* ; and thus the whole Inscription is, *Jesus Christ God overcometh*. Another Picture in the Wall had written over it *S<sup>r</sup> Johannes*, which was a clear sign of a barbarous Age. In another place there is a Picture high in the Wall, and three Pictures under it, that at top had no Inscription ; those below it had these Inscriptions, *S. Katharina*, *S. Agape*, and *S. Margarita* ; these Letters are clearly modern, besides that *Margaret* and *Katherine* are modern names ; and the addition of *ta* a little above the S. were manifest evidences that the highest Antiquity that can be ascribed to this Painting is six hundred years. I saw no more Painting, and I began to grow weary of the darkness, and the thick Air of the place, so I stay'd not above an hour in the Catacombs. This made me reflect more particularly on the Catacombs of *Rome* than I had done ; I could imagine no reason why so little mention is made of those of *Naples*, when there is so much said concerning those of *Rome*, and could give my self no other account of the matter, but that it being a Maxim to keep up the reputation of the *Roman* Catacombs, as the Repositories of the Reliques of the Primitive Christians, it would have much lessened their credit, if it had been thought that there were Catacombs far beyond them in all

pects, that yet cannot be supposed to have been the work of the Primitive Christians; and indeed nothing seems more evident than that these were the common Burying-places of the ancient Heathens. One enters into them without the Walls of the Towns, according to the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and such are the Catacombs of *Rome* that I saw, which were those of *S. Agnes* and *S. Sebastian*, the entry into them being without the Town; this answers the Law, tho' in effect they run under it for in those days, when they had not the use of the Needle, they could not know which way they carried on those works when they were once so far engaged under ground as to lose themselves. It is a vain imagination to think that the Christians, in the Primitive times, were able to carry on such a work; for as this prodigious digging into such Rocks, must have been a very visible thing, by the Mountains of Rubbish that must have been brought out, and by the vast number of hands that must have been employed in it; so it is absurd to think that they could hold their Assemblies amidst the annoyance of so much corruption. I found the stinks so strong, that tho' I am as little subject to vapors as most men, yet I had all the day long after I was in them, which was not near an hour, a confusion, and as it were a boiling in my head, that disorder'd me extremely; and if there is now so much stagnating Air there, this must have been sensible in a more eminent and insufferable manner while there were vast numbers of Bodies rotting in these Niches. But besides this improbability that presents it self from the nature of the thing, I called to mind a Letter of *Cornelius* that was Bishop of *Rome*, after the middle of the third Cen-

Century, which is preserved by *Ensebius* in his sixth Book, chapter 43. in which we have the state of the Church of *Rome* at that time set forth. There were forty six Presbyters, seven Deacons, as many Sub-Deacons, and ninety four of the inferior Orders of the Clergy among them. There were also fifteen hundred Widows, and other Poor, maintained out of the publick Charities. It may be reasonably supposed that the numbers of the Christians were as great when this Epistle was writ, as they were at any time before *Constantine's* days; for as this was writ at the end of that long peace of which both *St. Cyprian* and *Lactantius* speak, that had continued above a hundred years: so after this time there was such a succession of Persecutions that came so thick one upon another after short intervals of quiet, that we cannot think the numbers of the Christians increased much beyond what they were at this time. Now there are two particulars in this state of the Clergy, upon which one may make a probable estimate of the numbers of the Christians; the one is their Poor, which were but fifteen hundred: now upon an exact survey it will be found, that where the Poor are well looked to, their number rises generally to the thirtieth or fortieth part of Mankind: And this may be well believed to be the proportion of the Poor among the Christians of that Age; for as their Charity was vigorous and tender, so we find *Celsus*, *Julian*, *Lucian*, *Porphiry*, and others, object this to the Christians of that time, that their Charities to the Poor drew vast numbers of the lowest sort among them, who made themselves Christians that they might be supplied by their Brethren. So that this being the state of the Christians,

then

then we may reckon the Poor the thirtieth part, and so fifteen hundred multiplied by thirty, produce five and forty thousand. And I am the more inclined to think that this rises up near to the full sum of their numbers, by the other Characters of the numbers of the Clergy; for as there were forty six Presbyters, so there were ninety four of the inferiour Orders, who were by two more than the double number of the Priests: and this was in a time in which the care of Souls was more exactly looked after, than it has been in the more corrupted Ages, the Clergy having then really more work on their hands; the instructing of their *Catechumens*, the visiting their Sick, and the supporting and comforting the weak, being tasks that required so much application, that in so vast a City as *Rome* was in those days, in which it is probable the Christians were scattered over the City, and mixed in all the parts of it, we make a conjecture that is not ill grounded, when we reckon that every Presbyter had perhaps a thousand Souls committed to his care: So this rises to six and forty thousand, which comes very near the sum that may be gathered from the other hint, taken from the number of their Poor; so that about fifty thousand is the highest account to which we can reasonably raise the numbers of the Christians of *Rome* in that time; And of so many persons, the Old, the Young, and the Women, make more than three fourth parts, so that Men that were in condition to work were not above twelve thousand, and by consequence they were in no condition to undertake and carry on so vast a work.

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If *Cornelius* in that Letter speaks of the num-  
bers of the Christians in excessive terms, and if  
*Tertullian* in his Apologetick hath also set out the  
numbers of the Christians of his time in a very  
high strain, that is only to be ascribed to a pom-  
pous Eloquence, which disposeth people to mag-  
nifie their own Party; and we must allow a good  
deal to a Hyperbole, tthat is very natural to all that  
set forth their forces in general terms. It is true, it  
is not so clear when those vast cavities were dug out  
of the Rocks. We know that when the Laws of the  
Twelve Tables were made, Sepulture was then in  
use; and *Rome* being then grown to a vast big-  
ness, no doubt they had Repositories for their  
Dead: So that since none of the *Roman* Authors  
mention any such work, it may not be unreasona-  
ble to imagine that these Vaults had been wrought  
and cut out from the first beginnings of the City,  
and so the later Authors had no occasion to take  
notice of it. It is also certain, that though Burn-  
ing came to be in use among the *Romans*, yet they  
returned back to their first custom of Burying Bo-  
dies long before *Constantine's* time; so that it was  
not the Christian Religion that produced this  
change. All our modern Writers take it for gran-  
ted, that the change was made in the times of the  
*Antonins*; yet there being no Law made concerning  
it, and no mention being made in an Age full of  
Writers of any Orders that were given for Burying-  
places, *Velferus* opinion seems more probable, that  
the custom of Burning wore out by degrees; and  
since we are sure that they once buried, it is more  
natural to think that the Slaves and the meaner sort  
of people were still buried, that being a less expence-  
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ful and a more simple way of bestowing their Bodies than burning, which was both pompous and chargeable; and if there were already Burying-places prepared, it is much easier to imagine how the custom of Burying grew universal, without any Law made concerning it.

I could not for some time find out upon what grounds the modern Criticks take it for granted that Burying began in the times of the *Antonines*, till I had the happiness to talk of this matter with the learned *Gronovius*, who seems to be such a Master of all the ancient Learning, as if he had the Authors lying always open before him: He told me that it was certain the change from Burning to Burying was not made by the Christian Emperours, for *Macrobius* (*lib. 7. cap. 7.*) says in plain terms, that the custom of burning the Bodies of the Dead was quite worn out in that Age; which is a clear intimation that it was not laid aside by *Constantine*: And as there was no Law made by him on that Head, so He and the succeeding Emperours gave such an entire tolleration to Paganism, admitting those of that Religion to the greatest Employments, that it is not to be imagined that there was any Order given against Burning: So that it is clear the Heathens had changed it of their own accord, otherwise we should have found that among the complaints that they made of the grievances under which they lay from the Christians. But it is more difficult to fix the time when this change was made. *Gronovius* shewed me a passage of *Phlegon's* that mentions the Bodies that were laid in the ground; yet he did not build on that, for it may have relation to the customs of burying



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burying that might be elsewhere. And so *Petrus* gives the account of the burial of the Ephesian Matrons Husband: But he made it apparent to me that burying was commonly practised in *Commodus's* time, for *Xiphilinus* tells us that in *Pertinax's* time, the Friends of those whom *Commodus* had ordered to be put to Death, had dug up their Bodies, some bringing out only some parts of them, and others raising their intire Bodies. The same Author also tells us, that *Pertinax* buried *Commodus's* Body, and so saved it from the rage of the People, and here is a positive Evidence that burying was the common practise of that time.

The same learned Person has since my first conversation with him upon this Subject, suggested to me two passages of *Festus Pompeius*, that seem to determine this whole matter: and that tell us by what Names those Catacombs were known in the Roman Time, where abouts they were, and what sort of Persons were laid in them, we have also the designation by which the Bearers were commonly known, and the time when they carried out the Dead Bodies: and it appears particularly by them, that in the Repositories of which that Author makes mention, there was no care taken to preserve the Bodies that were laid in them from rotting. His Words are; *Puticulus antiquissimum genus Sepulture appellatos, quod ibi in puteis Sepelirentur homines: qualis fuerit locus quo nunc cadavera projici solent, extra portam Esquilinam: quos quod ibi putescerent, inde prius appellatos existimat puticulos Aelius Gallus, qui ait antiqui moris fuisse, ut patres Familias in locum publicum extra oppidum mancipia vilia projicerent, atque ita projecta, quod ibi*

*ibi ea putrescerent, nomen esse factum puticuli.* The other passage runs thus. *Vespæ & Vespillonæ dicuntur, qui funerandis corporibus officium gerunt, non a minutis illis volucris, sed quia vespertino tempore eos effrunt, qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt.* All this agrees so exactly to the thoughts, that a general view of those Repositories give a man, that it will not be hard to persuade him that those burying places that are now graced with the pompous Title of Catacombs, are no other than the *Puticoli* mentioned by *Festus Pompeius* where the meanest sort of the Roman Slaves were laid, and so without any further care about them were left to rot.

It is true it is very probable that as we see some of the Roman Families continued to bury their dead, even when burning was the more common custom, so perhaps others continued after this to burn their dead, the thing being indifferent, and no Law being made about it, and therefore it was particularly objected to the Christians after this time, that they abhorred the custome of burning the Bodies of the dead, which is mentioned by *Minutius Felix*; but this or any other evidences, that may be brought from Medals of Consecration after this time, will only prove that some were still burnt, and that the Christians practised burying Universally as expressing their belief of the Resurrection; whereas the Heathens held the thing indifferent. It is also clear from the many genuine Inscriptions that have been found in the Catacombs, which bear the dates of the Consuls, that these were the common burial places of all the Christians of the fourth and fifth Century: for I do not re-

member.

member that there is any one date that is ancient-  
 er: and yet not one of the Writers of those Ages  
 speak of them as the Work of the Primitive Chri-  
 stians. They speak indeed of the burial places of  
 the Martyrs, but that will prove no more but that  
 the Christians might have had their Quarters, and  
 their walks in those common burial places where they  
 laid their dead, and which might have been known  
 among them, though it is not likely that they  
 would in times of Persecutions make such Inscrip-  
 tions as might have exposed the Bodies of their dead  
 Friends to the Rage of their Enemies. And the  
 Spurious acts of some Saints and Martyrs are of  
 too little Credit to give any support to the com-  
 mon Opinion. *Damasus's* Poetry is of no better  
 Authority. And though those Ages were inclined  
 enough to give Credit to Fables, yet it seems this  
 of those Catacombs having been the work of the  
 Primitive Christians, was too gross a thing to have  
 been so early Imposed on the World. And this si-  
 lence in an Age in which Superstition was going  
 on at so great a rate has much force in it, for so  
 vast a Work as those Catacombs are, must have  
 been well known to all the Romans. It were easie  
 to carry this much further, and to shew that the  
 base reliefs that have been found in some of those  
 Catacombs, have nothing of the Beauty of the  
 Ancient and Roman Time. This is also more dis-  
 cernable in many Inscriptions that are more Goth-  
 ick than Roman, and there are so many Inscrip-  
 tions relating to Fables, that it is plain these were  
 of later Times, and we see by *St. Jerom* that the  
 Monks began even in his time, to drive a Trade  
 of Reliques; so it is no wonder that to raise the  
 credit of such a head as was never to be exhausted  
 they.

they made some miserable Sculptures, and Inscriptions; and perhaps shut up the entries to them with much care and secrecy, intending to open them upon some Dream or other Artifice, to give them the more reputation, which was often practised in order to the drawing much Wealth and great Devotion, even to some single Reliques, and a few being upon this secret, either those might have died, or by the many revolutions that happened in *Rome*, they might have been dispersed before they made the discovery: And thus the knowledge of those places was lost, and came to be discovered by accident in the last age, and hath ever since supplied them with an inexhaustible Magazine of Bones, which by all appearance are no other than the Bones of the Pagan Romans; which are now sent over the World to feed a Superstition that is as blind as it proves expensive. And thus the Bones of the Roman Slaves, or at least those of the meaner sort, are now set in Silver and Gold, with a great deal of other costly Garniture, and entertain the Superstition of those who are willing to be deceived as well as they serve the ends of those that seek to deceive the World. But because it cannot be pretended that there was such a number of Christians at *Naples*, as could have wrought such Catacombs, and if it had been once thought that those were the common burial places of the ancient Heathens, that might have induced the World to think that the Roman Catacombs were no other; therefore there hath been no care taken to examine these. I thought this deserved a large Discourse, and therefore I have dwelt perhaps a little too long on this Subject. I will not enter upon a long description of that which is so well known as Mount *Vesuvius*.

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had roared so loud about a Month before I came to  
 Naples, that at Naples they could hardly sleep in  
 the Nights, and some old Houses were so shaken,  
 by the Earth-quake that was occasioned by this  
 convulsion of the Hill, that they fell to the ground:  
 And the last eruption, above fifty years ago, was  
 so terrible what there was no small fear in Naples,  
 though it lies at the distance of seven miles from  
 the Hill, yet the storm was choaked under ground;  
 for though it smoakt much more than ordinary, yet  
 there was no eruption: It was indeed smoaking not  
 only in the Mouth of the little Mount that is form-  
 ed within the great wast that the Fire hath made,  
 but also all along the bottom that is between the  
 outward Mouth of this Mountain, which is four miles  
 in compass, and that inward Hill. When one sees the  
 mouth of this Fire, and so great a part of the Hill  
 which is covered some foot deep with Ashes and  
 Stones of a metallick composition, that the Fire  
 throws out, he cannot but stand amazed, and won-  
 der what can be the Fuel of so lasting a Burning,  
 that hath calcined so much matter, and spewed out  
 such prodigious quantities. It is plain there are  
 vast Veins of Sulphur all along in this Soil, and it  
 seems in this Mountain they run along through some  
 Mines and Rocks, and as their slow consumption,  
 produceth a perpetual Smoke, so when the Air  
 within is so much rarified that it must open it self,  
 it throws up these masses of Mettle and Rock that  
 shut it in; but how this Fire draws in Air to nour-  
 ish its Flame, is not so easily apprehended, unless  
 there is either a conveyance of Air under ground,  
 by some undiscovered vacuity, or a more insensible  
 transmission of Air, through the pores of the  
 Earth. The heat of this Hill operates so much upon  
 the

the Soil that lies upon it toward the foot of *Mount Vesuvius* that it produceth the richest Wine about *Naples*, and it also purifieth the Air so much, that the Village at the bottom is thought the best Air of the Country, so that many come from *Naples* thither for their Health: *Ischia* that is an Island not far from *Naples*, doth also sometimes, spew out fire:

On the other side of *Naples* to the West, one passeth through the Cave that pierceth the *Pausalippe*, and is four hundred and forty paces long, for I walked it on foot to take its true measure; it is twenty foot broad, and at first forty foot high; but afterwards it is but twenty foot high; the Stone cut out here is good for building; so that as this opened the way from *Puzzoli* to *Naples*, it was also a Quarry for the building of the Town. All along the way here one discovers a strange boyling within the ground; for a little beyond this Grot of *Pausalippe*, as we come near the Lake of *Aniano*, there is of the one hand a Bath, occasioned by a steam that riseth so hot out of the ground, that as soon as one goeth a little into it, he finds himself all over in a sweat, which is very proper for some Diseases, especially that which carries its name from *Naples*; and about twenty paces from thence there is another little Grot, that sends out a poisonous steam, that as it puts out a Candle as soon as it cometh near it, so it infallibly killeth any living Creature within a minute of time, for in half that time a Dog, upon which the experiment is tried, (the Grot being from thence called *Grotto di Cane*) fell in a Convulsion. From that one goeth to see the rests of *Puzzoli*, and of all that Bay that was once all about

about a tract of Towns, it having been the retreat of the *Romans* during the heats of the Summer. All the Rarities here have been so often and so copiously described, that I am sensible I can add nothing to what is so well known. I will say nothing of the Amphitheater, or of *Cicero* and *Virgil's* Houses, for which there is nothing but a dubious Tradition; they are ancient brick Buildings of the *Roman*-way, and the Vaults of *Virgil's* House are still entire. The *Sulfatara* is a surprizing thing; here is a bottom out of which the force of the fire, that breaks out still in many places in a thick steaming smoke that is full of Brimstone, did throw up about a hundred and fifty years ago, a vast quantity of Earth, which was carried above three miles thence, and formed the Hill called *Monte Novo* upon the ruins of a Town that was overwhelmed with this Eruption, which is of a very considerable height. They told me that there was before that time a Channel that went from the Bay into the Lake of *Averno*, of which one sees the beginnings in the Bay at some distance from the shoar; it carrieth still the name of *Julio's Mole*, and is believed to have been made by *Julius Caesar*. But by the swelling of the ground upon the Eruption of the *Sulfatara*, this passage is stopt, and the *Averno* is now fresh water; it is eighteen fathom deep. On the side of it is that amazing Cave where the *Sybil* is said to have given out her Inspirations; the hewing it out of the Rock hath been a prodigious work, for the Rock is one of the hardest stones in the world, and the Cave goeth in seven hundred foot long, twenty foot broad, and (as I could guess) eighteen foot high; and from the end of this great Gallery there is a narrow passage of three foot broad,

broad, two hundred foot long, and seven high, to a little apartment, to which we go in a constant sloping descent from the great Cave; here are three little Rooms; in one of them there are some rests of an old Mosaick, with which the Walls and Roof were laid over; there is also a Spring of Water, and a Bath, in which it is supposed the *Sybil* bathed her self; and from this Cave it is said that there runs a Cave all along to *Cuma*, which is three long Miles, but the passage is now choakt by the falling in of the Rock in several places: This piece of Work amazed me. I did not much mind the popular opinion that is easily received there, that all this was done by the Devil; the marks of the Chizzei in all the parts of the Rock sheweth that this is not a work of Nature. Certainly they had both much leisure, and many Hands at their command who set about it, and it seems to have been wrought out with no other design but to subdue the People more intirely to the conduct of the Priests that managed this Imposture, so busie and industrious hath the ambition and fraud of the Priests been in all Ages and in all corrupt Religions. But of all the Scenes of Noble Objects that present it self in the Bay of *Puzzoli*, the rests of *Caligula's* Bridge are the most amazing, for there are yet standing eight or ten of the Pillars that supported the Arches, and of some of the Arches the half is yet intire. I had not a line with me to examine the depth of the Water where the furthest of those Pillars is built, but my Water-man assured me it was fifty Cubits.

I have



I have since my being in *Naples* instructed one that was going thither in this particular, and have received this account from him; that he had taken care to plum the Water at the furthest Pillar of *Caligula's* Bridge on the *Puzzolo* side, and found it was seven Fathom and a half deep: but he adds that the Watermen assured him that on the other side before *Baia*, the Water was 26. fathom deep: but as he had not a plummet long enough to try that, so he believed a good deal ought to be abated; for the Watermen had assured him that the Water was ten fathom deep on the *Puzzolo* side, though upon tryal he found it was only seven and a half: and by this measure one may suppose, that the Water is 20. Fathom deep on the other side: so that it is one of the most astonishing things that one can think of, that Pillars of Brick could have been built in such a depth of Water.

This I cannot believe, but it is certainly so deep, that one can scarce imagine how it was possible to build in such a depth; and for the carrying off of the Sea, that seems yet more impossible. It is a Noble Monument of the profuse and extravagant expence of a brutal Tyrant, who made

made one of the vastest Bridges that ever was attempted over three or four miles of Sea, meerly to sacrifice so great a Treasure to his vanity. As for *Agrippina's Tomb*, it is no great matter, only the *Ras Reliefs* are yet entire. The marvellous Fish-pond is a great Basin of Water wrought like a huge Temple, standing upon eight and forty great Pillars, all hewed out of the Rock, and they are laid over with four crusts of the old Plaister, which is now as hard as stone: this is believed to be a work of *Nero's*. And about a quarter of a mile from thence there is another vast work which goeth into a Rock; but at the entrance there is a Noble Portico built of Pillars of Brick, and as one enters into the Rock he finds a great many Rooms regularly shaped, hewed out of the Rock, and all covered over with Plaister, which is still entire, and so white, that one can hardly think that it hath not been washed over since it was first made: there are a vast number of those Rooms, they are said to be 100, from whence this Cave carrieth the name of the *Centum Camerae*. This hath been as expensive a Work as it is useles; it is entituled to *Nero*, and here they say he kept his Prisoners. But there is nothing in all

this

his Bay that is both so curious and so useful as the  
 this, which seems to flow from the same reason that  
 the cause of these eruptions in the Vesuvio and  
 Solfatara, and the Grottos formerly mentioned; that  
 this heat makes some Fountains there to be boiling  
 hot, so it sends up a steam through the Rock that doth  
 not break through the pores of the Stone where it is  
 hard, but where the Rock is soft and spongy, there the  
 steams come through with so melting a heat that a man  
 is soon, as it were, dissolved in sweat; but if he stoops  
 low in the passages that are cut in the Rock he finds no  
 heat, because there the Rock is hard, Those steams as  
 they are all hot, so they are impregnated with such  
 Minerals as they find in their way through the Rock;  
 and near this Bath there are Galleries hewed out of the  
 Rock and faced with a building; in which there are,  
 as it were Bedsteads made in the Walls, upon which,  
 those that come thither to sweat for their health, lay  
 their Quilts and Bed-cloaths, and so come regularly out  
 of their sweats.

It is certain that a man can no where pass a day of his  
 life both with so much pleasure, and with such advan-  
 tage, as he finds in this journey to Puzzoli, and all along  
 the Bay: but tho' anciently this was all so well built,  
 so peopled, and so beautifully laid out, yet no where  
 doth one see more visibly what a change time brings  
 upon all places: for Naples hath so intirely eat out  
 this place, and drawn its Inhabitants to it, that as  
 Puzzoli it self is but a small village, so there is now no  
 other in all this Bay, which was anciently built almost  
 all round, for there were seven big Towns upon it.  
 Having thus told you what I found most considerable  
 in Naples, I cannot pass by that Noble remnant of the  
 Via Appia that runs along thirty miles of the way be-  
 tween it and Rome, without making some mention of  
 it: this high-way is twelve foot broad, all made of  
 large stones, most of them blew, and they are generally

a foot and half large of all sides: the strength of this causeway appears in its long duration, for it hath lasted above 1800 years: and is in most places for several miles together, as intire as when it was first made: and the borches that have been made for mending such places as have been worn out by time, shews a very visible difference between the ancient and the modern way of paving. One thing seems strange, that the way is level with the earth on both sides: whereas so much weight as those Stones carry, should have sunk the ground under them by its pressure: Besides that the Earth, especially in low grounds, receives a constant increase chiefly by the dust which the Winds or Brooks carry down from the Hills; both which reasons should make a more sensible difference between those ways and the soil on both sides: and this makes me apt to believe, that anciently those ways were a little raised above the level of the ground, and that a course of so many Ages hath now brought them to an equality: Those ways were chiefly made for such as go on foot: for as nothing is more pleasant then to walk along them, so nothing is more inconvenient for Horses and all sort of carriage, and indeed Mules are the only beasts of burthen that can hold out long in this Road, which beats all Horses after they have gone it a little while. There are several rests of Roman Antiquities at the Mole of Cajeta; but the Isle of Caprea, now called Crapa, which is a little way into the Sea off from Naples, gave me a strange Idea of Tiberius's Reign, since it is hard to tell whether it was more extraordinary to see a Prince abandon the best Seats and Palaces of Italy, and shut himself up in a little Island, in which I was told there was a tradition of seven little Palaces that he built in it; or to see so vast a body as the Roman Empire so governed by such a Tyrannical Prince, at such a distance from the chief Scene, so that all might have been reversed long before that the news of it could have  
been

been brought to him. And as there is nothing more wonderful in Story, then to see so vast a State that had so great a sense of liberty, subdued by so brutal and so voluptuous a man as Anthony, and so raw a youth as Augustus ; so the wonder is much improved when we see a Prince at a hundred and fifty miles distance, shut up in an Island, carry the Reins of so great a body in his hand, and turn it which way he pleased.

But now I come to Rome, which as it was once the Empress of the World in a succession of many Ages, so hath in it at present more curious things to entertain the attention of a Traveller, than any other place in Europe. On the side of Tuscany, the entry into Rome is very surprizing to strangers ; for one cometh along for a great many miles, upon the remains of the *Via Flaminia*, which is not indeed so entire as the *Via Appia* ; yet there is enough left to raise a just Idea of the Roman greatness, who laid such causewaies all Italy over. And within the Gate of the *Porta di Popolo*, there is a Noble Obelisk, a vast Fountain, two fine little Churches, like two twins resembling one another, as well as placed near one another, and on several hands one sees a long Vista of streets. There is not a Town in these parts of the World where the Churches, Convents, and Palaces are so Noble, and where the other Buildings are so mean, which indeed discovers very visibly the misery under which the Romans groan. The Churches of Rome are so well known, that I will not adventure on any description of them ; and indeed had too transient a view of them, to make it with that degree of exactness which the subject requires. St. Peters alone would make a big Book, not to say a long Letter. Its length, height and breadth, are all so exactly proportioned, and the eye is so equally possessed with all these, that the whole, upon the first view, doth not appear so vast as it is found to be upon more particular attention ; and as the four Pillars

upon which the Cupulo rises, are of such a prodigious bigness, that one would think they were strong enough to bear any superstructure whatsoever ; so when one climbs up to the top of that vast height, he wonders what Foundation can bear so huge a weight ; for as the Church is of a vast height, so the Cupulo rises four hundred and fifteen big steps above the Roof of the Church. In the height of the Concave of this Cupulo, there is a representation, that tho it can hardly be seen from the floor below, unless one hath a good sight, and so it doth not perhaps give much scandal, yet it is a gross indication of the Idolatry of that Church ; for the Divinity is there pictured as an ancient man, compassed about with Angels. I will say nothing of the great Altar, of the Chair of S. Peter, of the great Tombs ; of which the three chief are Paul the III. Urban the VIII. and Alexander the VII. nor of the vast Vaults under this Church, and the remains of Antiquity that are reserved in them : nor will I undertake a description of the adjoining Palace, where the painting of the Corridori, and of many of the Rooms by Raphael and Michael Angelo are so rich, that one is sorry to see work of that value laid on fresco, and which must by consequence wear out too soon, as in several places it is almost quite lost already. I could not but observe in the *Sala Regia* that is before the famous Chappel of Sisto V. and that is all painted in fresco, one corner that represents the murder of the renowned Admiral Chastilion, and that hath written under it these words, *Rex colinii necem probat* : The vast length of the Gallery on one side, and of the Library in another, do surprise one ; the Gardens have many Statues of a most excessive value, and some good Fountains ; but the Gardens are ill entertained both here and in the Palace on the Quirinal. And indeed in most of the Palaces of Rome if there were but a small cost laid out to keep all in good case that is brought together at so vast a charge, they

they should make another sort of shew, and be looked at with much more pleasure : In the apartments of Rome there are a great many things that offend the sight : The Doors are generally mean, and the Locks meaner, except in the Palace of the Prince Borghese, where as there is the vastest collection of the best pieces, and of the hands of the greatest Masters that is in all Europe, so the Doors and Locks give not that distast to the eye, that one finds elsewhere. The Flooring of the Palaces is all of Brick, which is so very mean, that one sees the disproportion that is between the Floors and the rest of the Room, not without a sensible perception and dislike. It is true, they say their Air is so cold and moist in Winter, that they cannot pave with Marble ; and the heat is sometimes so great in Summer, that Flooring of Wood would crack with heat, as well as be eat up by the vermin that would nestle in it. But if they kept in their great Palaces, servants to wash their Floors, with that care that is used in Holland, where the Air is moister, and the climate is more productive of Vermine, they would not find such effects from wooden floors, as they pretend. In a word, there are none that lay out so much wealth all at once, as the Italians do upon the building and finishing of their Palaces and Gardens, and that afterwards bestow so little on the preserving of them : another thing I observed in their Palaces, there is indeed a great series of Noble rooms one within another, of which their apartments are composed ; but I did not find at the end of the apartments, where the Bed-Chamber is, such a disposition of rooms for back-stairs, dressing-rooms, closets, servants rooms, and other conveniencies as are necessary for accomodating the Apartment. It is true, this is not so necessary for an apartment of State, in which magnificence is more considered than convenience ; but I found the same want in those apartments in which they lodged ; so that

notwithstanding all the riches of their Palaces, it cannot be said that they are well lodged in them, and their Gardens are yet less understood, and worse kept than their Palaces. It is true the Villa Borghese ought to be excepted; where, as there is a prodigious collection of bas reliefs, with which the Walls are, as it were, covered all over, that are of a vast value, so the statues within, of which some are of Porphyry, and others of Touchstone, are amazing things: The whole grounds of this Park, which is about three miles in compass; and in which there are six or seven lodges, are laid out so sweetly, that I thought I was in an English Park when I walked over it. The *Villa Pamphilia* is better situated upon a higher ground, and hath more Waterworks, and twice the extent of the other in Soil, but neither doth the House nor Statues approach to the riches of the other, nor are the grounds so well laid out and so well kept. But for the Furniture of the Palaces of Rome, the publick apartments are all covered over with Pictures, and for those apartments in which they lodge, they are generally furnished either with red Velvet, or red Damask, with a broad gold Galloon at every breadth of the stuff, and a gold Fringe at top and bottom, but there is very little Tapesty in Italy.

I have been carried into all this digression, from the general view, that I was giving you of the Popes Palace. I named one part of it which will engage me into a new digression, as it well deserves one, and that is the Library of the Vatican: The Case is great, but that which is lodged in it is much greater; for here is a collection of Books that filleth a mans eye: There is first a great Hall, and at the end of it there runs out on both sides, two Galleries of so vast a length, that tho the half of them is already furnished with Books, yet one would hope that there is room left for more new Books than the World will ever produce. The Heidelberg Library stands by it self, and filleth the one side of the Gallery,



as the Duke of Urbins Library of Manuscripts filleth the other. But tho these last are very fair and beautiful, yet they are not of such Antiquity as those of Heidelberg: When it appeared that I was come from England, King Henry the VIII's. Book of the seven Sacraments, with an inscription upon it with his own hand to Pope Leo the X. was shewed me; together with a collection of some Letters that he writ to Anne Bolen of which some are in English, and some in French. I that knew his hand well saw clearly that they were no forgeries. There are not many Latin Manuscripts of great antiquity in this Library; some few of Virgils I saw writ in Capitals. But that which took up almost half of one day that I spent at one time in this place, related to the present dispute that is on foot between Mr. Shelsstrate the Library-keeper; and Mr. Maimbourg, concerning the Council of Constance. The two points in debate are the words of the decree made in the fourth Session, and the Popes confirmation. In the fourth Session, according to the French Manuscripts, a Decree was made, subjecting the Pope, and all other persons whatsoever, to the Authority of the Council, and to the Decrees it was to make, and to the Reformation it intended to establish both in the Head and the Members: which as it implies that the Head was corrupted and needed to be reformed, so it sets the Council so directly above the Pope, that this Session being confirmed by the Pope, putteth those who assert the Popes infallibility to no small straits: For if Pope Martin that approved this Decree was infallible, then this Decree is good still; & if he was not infallible, no other Pope was infallible: To all this Schelsstrate answers from his Manuscripts, that the words of a Reformation, in Head and Members, are not in the Decree of that Session; and he did shew me several Manuscripts, of which two were evidently writ during the sitting of the Council, and were not at all dashed,

in which these words were not. I know the hand and way of writing of that Age too well to be easily mistaken in my judgement concerning Manuscripts ; but if those words are wanting, there are other words in them that seem to be much stronger for the superiority of the Council above that Pope. For it is Decreed that Popes, and all other persons, were bound to submit to the decisions of the Council, as to Faith : which words are not in the French Manuscripts : Upon this I told M. Schellstra that I thought the words in these Manuscripts were stronger than the other : since the word Reformation, as it was used in the time of that Council, belonged chiefly to the correcting of abuses, it being often applied to the regulations that were made in the Monastic Orders, when they were brought to a more exact observation of the rule of their Order : So tho the Council had decreed a Reformation both of Head and Members, I do not see that this would import more than that the Papacy had fallen into some disorders that needed a Reformation : and this is not denied even by those who assert the Popes infallibility : but a submission to points of Faith, that is expressly asserted in the Roman Manuscripts, is a much more positive evidence against the Popes Infallibility : and the word Faith is not capable of so large a sense as may be justly ascribed to Reformation. But this difference, in so main a point between Manuscripts concerning so late a transaction, gave me an occasion to reflect on the vast uncertainty of tradition, especially of matters that are at a great distance from us ; when those that were so lately transacted, are so differently represented in Manuscripts, and in which, both those of Paris and Rome seem to carry all possible evidences of sincerity. As for the Popes confirmation of that Decree, it is true, by a General Bull, Pope Martin confirmed the Council of Constance to such a

period :

period ; but besides that , he made a particular Bull , as Schelstrat assured me , in which he enumerated all the Decrees that he confirmed ; and among those , this Decree concerning the superiority of the Council is not named ; this seemed to be of much more importance , and therefore I desired to see the Original of the Bull : for there seem to be just reasons to apprehend a forgery here : He promised to do his indeavours , though he told me that would not be easie , for the Bulls were strictly kept ; and the next day when I came , hoping to see it , I could not be admitted : but he assured me that if that had not been the last day of my stay at Rome , he would have procured a Warrant for my seeing the Original : so this is all I can say as to the authenticity of that Bull : But supposing it to be genuine , I could not agree to Mr. Schelstrat , that the General Bull of Confirmation , ought to be limited to the other that enumerates the particular Decrees : but since that particular Bull was never discovered till he hath found it out , it seems it was secretly made , and did not pass according to the forms of the Consistory : and was a fraudulent thing of which no noise was to be made in that Age , and therefore in all the dispute that followed in the Council of Basil , between the Pope and the Council upon this very point , no mention was ever made by of it by either side : and thus it can have no force , unless it be to discover the artifices and frauds of that Court : that at the same time in which the necessity of their affairs obliged the Pope to confirm the Decrees of the Council , he contrived a secret Bull , which in another Age might be made use of , to weaken the Authority of the General Confirmation that he gave : and therefore a Bull that doth not pass in due form and is not promulgated , is of no Authority : and so this Pretended Bull cannot limit the other Bull . There were some other things , relating to this debate ,

that were shewed me by Mr. Schelfstrat, but these being the most important, I mention them only. I will not give you here a large account of the learned men at Rome, Bellori is deservedly famous for his knowledge of the Greek and Egyptian Antiquities, and for all that belongs to the Mythologies and superstitions of the Heathens, and hath a Closet richly furnished with things relating to those matters. Fabretti is justly celebrated for his Understanding of the Old Roman Architecture and Fabricks. Padre Fabri is the chief Honour of the Jesuits Colledge, and is much above the common rate, both for Philosophy, Mathematicks, and Church History. And he to whom I was the most obliged, Abbot Nazari, hath so general a view of the several parts of Learning, tho he hath chiefly applied himself to Philosophy and Mathematicks, and is a man of so engaging a civility, and used my self in so particular a manner, that I owe him, as well as those others whom I have mentioned, and whom I had the Honour to see, all the acknowledgments of Esteem and Gratitude that I can possibly make them.

One sees in Cardinal d'Estrees all the advantages of a high birth, great parts, a generous civility, and a measure of knowledge far above what can be expected from a person of his rank; but as he gave a noble protection to one of the learnedst men that this Age hath produced, Mr. Launnoy, who lived many years with him, so it is visible, that he made a great progress by the conversation of so extraordinary a person; and as for Theological Learning, there is now none of the Colledge equal to him. Cardinal Howard is too well known in England to need any character from me. The elevation of his present condition hath not in the least changed him; he hath all the sweetness and gentleness of temper that we saw in him in England; and he retains the unaffected simplicity and humility of a Friar amidst all the dignity of the Purple; and as

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he sheweth all the generous care and concern for his Country-men that they can expect from him; so I met with so much of it in so many obliging marks of his goodness for my self, that went far beyond a common Civility, that I cannot enough acknowledge it. I was told the Popes Confessor was a very extraordinary man for the Oriental Learning, which is but little known in Rome: He is a Master of the Arabick Tongue, and hath writ, as Abbot Nazari told me, the learnedst Book against the Mahometan Religion, that the World hath yet seen, but is not yet Printed: He is not so much esteemed in Rome as he would be elsewhere; for his Learning is not in vogue, and the School Divinity and Casuistical Learning, being that for which Divines are most esteemed there; he whose Studies lead him another way, is not so much valued as he ought to be; and perhaps the small account that the Pope makes of learned men, turns somewhat upon the Confessor; for it is certain, that this is a Reign in which Learning is very little encouraged.

Upon the general contempt that all the Romans have for the present Pontificate, one made a pleasant reflection to me; he said, those Popes that intended to raise their Families, as they saw the censure that this brought upon them, so they studied to lessen it by other things that might soften the Spirits of the people. No man did more for beautifying Rome, for finishing St. Peters and the Library, and for furnishing Rome with water, then Pope Paul the V. tho at the same time he did not forget his Family; and tho the other Popes that have raised great Families, have not done this to so eminent a degree as he did, yet there are many remains of their Magnificence, whereas those Popes that have not raised Families, have it seems thought that alone was enough to maintain their reputation; and so they have not done much, either to recommend their Government to their Subjects, or their

their Reign to posterity ; and it is very plain, that the present Pope taketh no great care of this. His life hath been certainly very innocent, and free of all those publick Scandals that make a noise in the World ; and there is at present a regularity in Rome that deserveth great commendation, for publick Vices are not to be seen there : His personal sobriety is also singular. One assured me, that the expence of his Table did not amount to a crown a day, tho this is indeed short of Sisto V. who gave order to his Steward never to exceed five and twenty bajokes, that is, eighteen pence a day for his Diet. The Pope is very careful of his health, and doth never expose it ; for upon the least disorder, he shuts himself up in his Chamber, and often keepeth his Bed for the least indisposition, many days, but his Government is severe, and his Subjects are ruined.

And here one thing cometh into my mind, which perhaps is not ill grounded, That the poverty of a Nation not only dispeoples it, by driving the people out of it, but by weakning the natural fertility of the Subjects ; for as men and women well cloathed, and well fed, that are not exhausted with perpetual labour, and with the tearing anxieties that want brings with it, must be much more lively than those that are pressed with want ; so it is very likely, that the one must be much more disposed to propagate than the other : and this appeared more evident to me, when I compared the fruitfulness of Geneva and Switzerland, with the barrenness that reigns all over Italy. I saw two extraordinary instances of the copious productions of Geneva : Mr. Tronchin that was Professor of Divinity, and Father to the judicious and worthy Professor of the same name, that is now there, died at the age of seventy six years, and had a hundred and fifteen persons all alive, that had either descended from him, or by marriage with those that descended from him, called him Father. And Mr. Calendrin a pious and labori-

ous Preacher of that Town, that is descended from the family of the Calendrini, who receiving the Reformation about a hundred and fifty years ago, left Lucca: their Native City with the Turretini, the Diodati, and the Bourlamachi, and some others that came and settled at Geneva: He is now but seven and forty years old, and yet he hath a hundred and five persons that are descended of his Brothers and Sisters, or married to them; so that if he liveth but to eighty, and the Family multiplieth as it hath done; he may see some hundred that will be in the same relation to him; but such things as these are not to be found in Italy.

There is nothing that delights a stranger more in Rome, than to see the great Fountains of Water that are almost in all the corners of it: That old aquaduct which Paul the V. restored, cometh from a collection of Sources, five and thirty miles distant from Rome, that runs all the way upon an aquaduct in a channel that is vaulted, and is liker a River than a Fountain: It breaketh out in five several Fountains, of which some give water about a foot square. That of Sixtus the V. the great Fountain of Aqua Travi, that hath yet no decoration, but dischargeth a prodigious quantity of Water. The glorious Fountain in the Piazza Navona that hath an air of greatness in it that surprizeth one, the Fountain in the piazza de Spagna, those before S. Peters: and the Palazzo Farnese, with many others, furnish Rome so plentifully, that almost every private House hath a Fountain that runs continually: All these I say, are noble decorations, that carry an usefulness with them that cannot be enough commended: and gives a much greater Idea of those who have taken care to supply this City with one of the chief pleasures and conveniences of life, than of others who have laid out millions meerly to bring quantities of Water to give the eye a little diversion, which would have been laid out much more nobly and usefully, and would

would have more effectually eternized their fame, if they had been imployed as the Romans did their Treasuries, in furnishing great Towns with Water.

There is an universal Civility that reigns among all sorts of People at Rome, which in a great measure flows from their Government ; for every man being capable of all the advancements of that State, since a simple Ecclesiastick may become one of the Monsignori : and one of these may be a Cardinal ; and one of these may be chosen Pope ; this makes every man behave himself towards all other persons with an exactness of respect : for no man knows what any other may grow to. But this makes professions of esteem and kindness go so promiscuously to all sorts of persons, that one ought not to build too much on them. The conversation of Rome is generally upon news, for tho there is no News Printed there, yet in the several Antichambers of the Cardinals ( where if they make any considerable figure, there are Assemblies of those that make their Court to them ) one is sure to hear all the news of Europe, together with many speculations upon what passeth. At the Queen of Swedens, all that relateth to Germany, or the North, is ever to be found ; and that Princess, that must ever reign among all that have a true tast either of wit or learning, hath still in her drawing Rooms the best Court of the strangers ; and her civility, together with the vast variety with which she furnisheth her conversation, maketh her to be the chief of all the living rarities that one sees in Rome ; I will not use her own word to my self, which was, That she now grew to be one of the Antiquities of Rome. The Ambassadors of Crowns, who live here in another form than in any other Court, and the Cardinals and Prelates of the several Nations, that do all meet and centre here, maketh that there is more news in Rome than any where : For Priests and the men of Religious Orders, write  
larger



larger and more particular Letters, than any other sort of men. But such as apply themselves to make their Court here, are condemned to a loss of time that had need be well recompenced, for it is very great. As for one that Studies Antiquities, Pictures, Statues, or Musick, there is more entertainment for him at Rome, than in all the rest of Europe; but if he hath not a taste of these things, he will soon be weary of a place where the Conversation is always general, and where there is little sincerity or openness practised; and by consequence, where friendship is little understood. The Women here begin to be a little more conversable, tho a Nation naturally jealous, will hardly allow a great liberty in a City that is composed of Ecclesiasticks; who being denied the priviledge of Wives of their own, are suspected of being sometimes too bold with the Wives of others: The liberties that were taken in the Constable of Naples's Palace, had indeed disgusted the Romans much at that freedom, which had no bounds. But the Dutchess of Bracciano, that is a French Woman, hath by the exactness of her deportment, amidst all the innocent Freedoms of a Noble Conversation, recovered in a great measure, the credit of those liberties that Ladies, beyond the Mountains practise with all the strictness of Virtue; For she receiveth visits at publick hours, and in publick rooms; and by the liveliness of her conversation, maketh that her Court is the pleasantest Assembly of strangers, that is to be found in any of the Palaces of the Italians at Rome.

I will not engage in a description of Rome either ancient or modern; this hath been done so oft, and with such exactness, that nothing can be added to what hath been already published. It is certain, that when one is in the Capitol, and sees those poor rests of what once it was, he is surprized to see a building of so great a fame sunk so low, that one can scarce imagine that it

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was once a Castle, scituated upon a Hill able to hold out against a Siege of the Gauls: The Tarpeian Rock is now of so small a fall, that a man would think it no great matter, for his diversion, to leap over it: and the shape of the ground hath not been so much altered on one side, as to make us think it is very much changed on the other. For Severus's Triumphal Arch, which is at the foot of the Hill on the other side, is not now buried above two foot within the ground, as the vast Amphitheatre of Titus is not above three foot sunk under the level of the ground. Within the Capitol one sees many Noble remnants of Antiquity, but none is more glorious, as well as more useful, than the Tables of their Consuls, which are upon the Walls: and the Inscription on the Columna Rostrata, in the time of the first Punick War, is without doubt the most valuable Antiquity in Rome. From this all along the sacred way, one findeth such remnants of old Rome in the ruins of the Temples, in the Triumphal Arches, in the Portico's, and other remains of that Glorious Body, that as one cannot see these too often, so every time one sees them, they kindle in him vast Idea's of that Republick, and make him reflect on that which he learned in his youth with great pleasure. From the height of the Convent of Araceli, a man hath a full view of all the extent of Rome; but literally, it is now *seges ubi Roma fuit*; for the parts of the City that were most inhabited anciently, are those that are now laid in great Gardens, or, as they call them, Vineyards, of which some are half a mile in compass: The vastness of the Roman magnificence and luxury, is that which passeth imagination; the prodigious Amphitheatre of Titus, that could conveniently receive eighty five thousand Spectators; the great extent of the circus Maximus; the Vaults where the Waters were reserved that furnished Titus's Baths, and above all, Diocletian's Baths, tho built when the Empire was in its decay,

decay, are so far above all modern buildings, that there is not so much as room for a comparison. The extent of those baths is above half a mile in compass : the vastness of the rooms in which the Bathers might swim, of which, the Carthusian Church, that yet remains intire, is one, and the many great Pillars all of one stone, of Marble beautifully spotted, are things of which these later Ages are not capable. The beauty of their Temples, and of the Portico's before them is amazing, chiefly that of the Rotunda, where the Fabric without looketh as mean, being only Brick, as the Architecture is bold : for it riseth up in a Vault, and yet at the top there is an open left of thirty foot in Diameter ; which, as it is the only Window of the Church, so it filleth it with light, and is the hardiest piece of Architecture that ever was made. The Pillars of the Portico are also the noblest in Rome ; they are the highest and biggest that one can see any where all of one Stone : and the number of those ancient Pillars, with which, not only many of the Churches are beautified, chiefly S. Mary Maggiore, and S. John in the Lateran, but with which even private houses are adorned, and of the fragments of which there are such multitudes in all the streets of Rome, giveth a great Idea of the expensiveness of the old Romans in their buildings : for the hewing and fetching a few of those Pillars, must have cost more than whole Palaces do now, since most of them were brought from Greece : Many of these Pillars are of Porphyry, others of Jasp, others of granated Marble ; but the greatest number is of white Marble ; The two Columns Trajans and Antonins : the two Horses that are in the Mount Cavallo, and the other two Horses in the Capitol, which have not indeed the postures and motion of the other. The brass horse that, as is believed, carrieth Marcus Aurelius ; the remains of Nero's Colossus, the Temple of Bacchus near the Catacomb of S. Agnes, which is the

the entirest and the least altered, of all the ancient Temples: The great Temple of Peace; those of the Sun and Moon: that of Romulus and Remus, (which I considered as the ancientest Fabrick that is now left, for it is little and simple, and standeth in such a place, that when Rome grew so costly, it could not have been let alone unchanged, if it had not been that it was revered for its Antiquity) the many other Portico's, the Arches of Severus, of Titus and Constantine, in the last of which one sees, that the sculpture of his age was much sunk from what it had been, only in the top there are some bas reliefs, that are clearly of a much ancientser time, and of a better manner. And that which exceedeth all the rest, the many great Aqueducts that come from all hands, and run over a vast distance, are things which a man cannot see enough, if he would form in himself a just Idea of the vastness of that Republick, or rather Empire: There are many Statues and Pillars, and other Antiquities of great value, dug up in all the quarters of Rome these last hundred and fourscore years, since Pope Leo X.'s time; who as he was the greatest Patron of Learning and Arts, that perhaps ever was, so was he the generousst Prince that ever reigned; and it was he that first set on foot the inquiring into the riches of Old Rome, that lay, till his time, for the most part hid under ground; and indeed if he had been less scandalous in his Impiety and Atheism, of which, neither he nor his Court were so much as ashamed, he had been one of the most celebrated persons of any Age. Soon after him Pope Paul the III. gave the ground of the Monte Palatino to his Family: But I was told, that this large piece of ground, in which one should look for the greatest collection of the Antiquities of the highest value; since this is the ruine of the Palace of the Roman Emperors, hath never been yet searched into with any exactness: So that when a curious Prince cometh, that is willing to employ

employ many hands in digging up and down this Hill, we may expect new Scenes of Roman Antiquities. But all this matter would require Volumes; therefore I have only named these things, because I can add nothing to those copious descriptions so oft made of them. Nor will I say any thing to the modern Palaces or the Ornaments of them, either in Pictures or Statues, which are things that carry one so far, that it is not easie to give bounds to the descriptions into which one findeth himself carried, when he once enters upon so fruitful a subject. The number of the Palaces is great, and every one of them hath enough to fix the attention of a Traveller, till a new one drives the former out of his thoughts: It is true the Pelestrina, the Borghese, and the Farnese have somewhat in them that leave an impression which no new objects can wear out: and as the last hath a noble square before it, with two great Fountains in it, so the Statue of Hercules and the Bull that are below, and the Gallery above stairs are unvaluable; the Roof of the Gallery is one of the best pieces of Painting that is extant, being all of Carrachio's hand, and there are in that Gallery the greatest number of heads of the Greek Philosophers and Poets that ever saw together: That of Homer and that of Socrates were the two that struck me most, chiefly the latter, which as it is, without dispute, a true Antick, so it carrieth in it all the characters that Plato and Xenophon give us of Socrates; the flat nose, the broad face, the simplicity of look, and the mean appearance which that great Philosopher made, so that I could not return oft enough to look upon it, and was delighted with this more then with all the wonders of the Bull, which is indeed a Rock of Marble cut out into a whole Scene of Statues; but as the History of it is not well known, there are such faults in the sculpture, that tho it is all extream fine, yet one seeth it hath not the exactness of the best times. As for the Churches and Convents of Rome

Rome, as the number, the vastness, the riches both of Fabrick, Furniture, Painting and other Ornaments amaze one, so here again a stranger is lost: and the Convent that one seeth last, is always the most admired: I confess the Minerva, which is the Dominicans, where the Inquisition sitteth, is that which maketh the most sensible impression upon one that passeth at Rome for an Heretick, tho except one committed great follies he is in no danger there, and the poverty that reigns in that City maketh them find their interest so much in using strangers well, whatsoever their Religion may be, that no man needs be afraid there: And I have more then ordinary reason to acknowledge this, who having ventured to go thither, after all the liberty that I had taken to write my thoughts freely both of the Church and See of Rome, and was known by all with whom I conversed there, yet met with the highest civilities possible among all sorts of people, and in particular both among the English and Scottish Jesuites, tho they knew well enough that I was no friend to their Order.

In the Gallery of the English Jesuits among the Pictures of their Martyrs, I did not meet with Garner, for perhaps that name is so well known, that they would not expose a Picture, with such a name on it to all strangers, yet Oldcorn, being a name less known, is hung there among their Martyrs, tho he was as clearly convicted of the Gunpowder Treason, as the other was: and it seemed a little strange to me, to see that at a time in which, for other reasons, the writers of that Communion have not thought fit to deny the truth of that Conspiracy, a Jesuit convicted of the Blackest crime that ever was projected, should be reckoned among their Martyrs. I saw likewise there the Original of these Emblematical Prophecies, relating to England, that the Jesuits have had at Rome near sixty years, and of which I had some time ago procured a

Copy, so I found my Copy was true. I hapned to be at Rome during St. Gregory's Fair and Feast, which lasted several days. In his Church the Hosty was exposed: and from that, all that came thither, went to the Chappel that was once his House, in which his Statue and the Table where he served the poor, are preserved: I saw such vast numbers of people there, that one would have thought all Rome was got together. They all kneeled down to his Statue, and after a prayer said to it, they kissed his foot, and every one touched the Table with his Bead, as hoping to draw some vertue from it. I will add nothing of the several Obelisks and Pillars that are in Rome, of the celebrated Chapels that are in some of the great Churches, in particular those of Sixtus the V. and Paul the V. in Santa Maria Maggiore, of the Water works in the Quirinal, the Vatican, and in many of the Vineyards: Nor will I go out of Rome to describe Frescati, (for Tivoly I did not see) The young Prince Borghese, who is indeed one of the glories of Rome, as well for his learning as for his vertue, did me the Honour to carry me thither with those two learned Abbots Fabretti and Nazari, and entertained me with a magnificence that became him better to give, then me to receive. The Water works in the Aldobrandin Palace have a magnificence in them beyond all that I ever saw in France, the mixture of Wind with the Water, and the Thunders and Storms that this maketh is noble: The Water-works of the Ludovisio, and the Monte Dragone, have likewise a greatness in them that is natural, and indeed the riches that one meets with in all places within doors in Italy, and the poverty that one seeth ever where abroad, are the most unsuitable things imaginable: but it is very likely that a great part of their movable Wealth will be ere long carried into France; for as soon as any Picture or Statue of great value is offered to

to be sold, those that are imployed by the King of France, do presently buy it up, so that as that King hath already, the greatest collection of Pictures that is in Europe, he will very probably in a few years more, bring together the chief Treasures of Italy.

I have now given you an account of all that appeared most remarkable to me in Rome. I shall to this add a very extraordinary piece of Natural History that fell out there within these two years, which I had first from those two learned Abbots Fabretti and Nazari, and that was afterwards more authentically confirmed to me by Cardinal Howard, who was one of the Congregation of Cardinals that examined and judged the matter. There were two Nuns near Rome, one as I remember was in the City, and the other not far from it, who, after they had been for some years in a Nunnery, perceived a very strange change in Nature, and that their Sex was altered, which grew by some degrees a total alteration in one: and tho the other was not so intire a change, yet it was visible she was more Man then Woman; upon this the matter was looked into: That which naturally offereth it self here, is, that these two had been always what they then appeared to be; but that they had gone into a Nunnery in a disguise to gratifie a brutal appetite. But to this, when I proposed it, answer was made, that as the breasts of a Woman that remained still, did in a great measure shake off that objection, so the proofs were given so fully, of their having been real females, that there was no doubt left of that, nor had they given any sort of scandal in the change of their Sex; And if there had been any room left to suspect a cheat or disguise, the proceedings would have been both more severe, and more secret; and these persons would have been burnt, or at least, put to death in some terrible manner. Some Physitians and Chyrurgeons were appointed to examine the matter; and at last, after a long and exact



exact enquiry, they were judged to be absolved from their vows, and were dismissed from the obligation of a Religious life, and required to go in mens habit. One of them was a Valet de Chambre to a Roman Marquess when I was there : I heard of this matter only two days before I left Rome, so that I had not time to inquire after it more particularly ; but I judged it so extraordinary, that I thought it was worth communicating to so curious an Inquirer into Nature.

And since I am upon the subject of the changes that have been made in nature, I shall add one of another sort, that I examined while I was at Geneva : There is a Minister of S. Gervais, Mr. Gody, who hath a Daughter that is now sixteen years old : Her Nurse had an extraordinary thickness of hearing ; at a year old, the Child spoke all those little words that Children begin usually to learn at that age, but she made no progress ; yet this was not observed till it was too late ; and as she grew to be two years old, they perceived that she had lost her hearing, and was so deaf, that ever since, tho she hears great noises, yet she hears nothing that one can speak to her. It seems while the milk of her Nurse was more abundant, and that the Child suckt more moderately the first year, those humours in the blood and milk had not that effect on her, that appeared after she came to suck more violently ; and that her Nurses Milk being in less quantity, was thicker, and more charged with that vapour that occasioned the deafness. But this Child hath, by observing the motions of the mouths and lips of others, acquired so many words, that out of these she hath formed a sort of jargon, in which she can hold conversation whole days with those that can speak her own language. I could understand some of her words, but could not comprehend a period, for it seemed to be a confused noise : She knows nothing that is said to her, unless she seeth the motion of their mouths that speak to

to her ; so that in the night, when it is necessary to speak to her, they must light a Candle: Only one thing appeared the strangest part of the whole narration : She hath a Sister, with whom she has practised her language more than with any other : and in the night by laying her hand on her Sisters mouth, she can perceive by that what she says, and so can discourse with her in the night. It is true, her Mother told me that this did not go far, and that she found out only some short period in this manner ; but it did not hold out very long : thus this young Woman, without any pains taken on her, hath meerly by a natural sagacity found out a method of holding discourse, that doth in a great measure lessen the misery of her deafness. I examined this matter critically, but only the Sister was not present ; so that I could not see how the conversation passed between them in the dark.

But before I give over writing concerning this place, I cannot hinder my self from giving you an account of a conversation that I had with one of the most celebrated persons that lives in it. I was talking concerning the credit that the Order of the Jesuites had every where ; It was said, that all the World mistrusted them, and yet by a strange sort of contradiction, all the World trusted them ; and tho it was well known, that every Jesuite was truer to the Interests of his Order, than he could be to the Interests of any Prince whatsoever ; yet those Princes that would be very careful not to suffer Spies to come into their Courts, or into their Councils, suffered those Spies to come into their Breasts and Consciences : and tho Princes were not generally very tender in those parts, yet as they had oft as much guilt, so they had sometimes as much fear as other people ; which a dexterous Spy knew well how to manage. Upon which, that person that pretended to be a zealous Catholick, added, that for their part, they considered only the Character that the

Church

Church gave to a Priest; and if the Church qualified him to do the functions of a Priest, they thought it very needless to enquire after other personal qualities, which were but common things, whereas the other was all divine. On the contrary, they thought it was so much the better to have to do with a poor ignorant Priest; for then they had to do only with the Church, and not with the Man. Pursuant to this, that persons Confessor was the greatest and most notorious blockhead that could be found, and when they were asked why they made use of so weak a man, they answered, because they could not find a weaker: and whenever they found one better qualified that way, if it were a Groom or a Foot-man that got into Priests Orders, they would certainly make use of him. For they would ask counsel of a friend; but they knew no other use of a Confessor, but to confess to him, and to receive absolution from him; and in so doing, they pretended they acted as became a true Catholick, that considered only the power of the Church in the Priest, without regarding any thing else.

So far have I entertained you with the short ramble that I made, which was too short to deserve the name of Travelling; and therefore the enquiries or observations that I could make, must be received with the abatement that ought to be made for so short a stay: and all will be of a piece, when the remarks are as slight, as the abode I made in the places through which I past was short. I have avoided the troubling you with things that are commonly known; so if I have not entertained you with a long recital of ordinary matters, yet I have told you nothing but what I saw, and knew to be true; or that I had from such hands, that I have very good reason to believe it: and I fancy, that the things which made the greatest impression on my self, will be acceptably received by you, to whom, as upon many accounts, I owe all the expres-

sions of Esteem and Gratitude that I can ever pay ; so I had a more particular reason that determined me to give you so full an account of all I saw and observed : for as you were pleased at parting, to do me the Honour to desire me to communicate to you such things as appeared most remarkable to me, so I found such a vast advantage in many places, but more particularly at Venice, Rome and Naples, by the happiness I have of being known to you, and of being so far considered by you, that I could give a copious account both of your person and Studies, to those in whom your various discoveries had kindled that esteem for you which all the World paieth both to you, and to your immortal enquiries into Nature, which are among the peculiar Blessings of this Age ; and that are rewarded with no less care and pleasure in Italy than in England. This was so well received, that I found the great advantage of this Honour I did my self in assuming the glorious Title of one of your Friends, and I owe a great part of that distinction which I met with, to this favourable character that I gave my self ; so that if I made any progress in the inquiries that so short a stay could enable one to make, I owe it in so peculiar a manner to you, that this return that I make is but a very small part of that I owe you, and which I will be endeavouring to pay you to the last moment of my Life.

## THE FOURTH

## LETTER.

*From Nimmegen, the 20th. of May, 1686.*

S I R,

I Thought I had made so full a Point at the conclusion of my last Letter, that I should not have given you the trouble of reading any more Letters of the Volume of the former : But new Scenes and new matter offering themselves to me, I fancy you will be very gentle to me, if I engage you again to two or three hours reading. From Civita Vecchia I came to Marseilles, where if there were a Road as safe as the Harbour is covered ; and if the Harbour were as large as it is convenient, it were certainly one of the most important places in the World ; all is so well defended, that it is with respect either to Storms or Enemies, the securest Port that can be seen any where. The Freedoms of this place, tho it is now at the mercy of the Citadel, are such, and its situation draweth so much Trade to it, that there one seeth another appearance of Wealth then I found in any Town of France, and there is a new street lately built there, that for the beauty of the buildings, and the largeness of the street, is the Noblest I ever saw. There is in that port a perpetual heat, and the Sun was so strong in the Christians week, that I was often driven off the Key. I made a Tour from thence through Provence, Languedoc, and Dauphine. I will offer you no account of

Nismes, nor of the Ampitheatre in it, or the Port du Gar near it ; which as they are stupendious things so they are copiously described by many, and are so generally known to the English Nation, that if you have never gone that way your self, yet you must needs have received so particular a relation of them from those that have seen them on their way to Montpelier, that I judge it needless to enlarge upon them : Nor will I say any thing of the Soil, the Towns, or any other remarkable things that I found there.

I have a much stronger inclination to say somewhat concerning the Persecution which I saw in its rage and utmost fury ; and of which I could give you many instances that are so much beyond all the common measures of barbarity and cruelty, that I confess they ought not to be believ'd, unless I could give more positive proofs of them, then are fitting now to be brought forth : and the particulars that I could tell you are such, that if I should relate them with necessary circumstances of time, place, and persons, these might be so fatal to many that are yet in the power of their Enemies, that my regard to them restrains me. In short, I do not think that in any Age there was ever such a Violation of all that is sacred, either with relation to God or Man : And what I saw and knew there from the first hand, hath so confirmed all the Ideas that I had taken from the Books of the cruelty of that Religion, that I hope the Impression that this hath made upon me shall never end but with my life : The applauses that the whole Clergy give to this way of proceeding, the many Panegiricks that are already writ upon it, of which, besides the more pompous ones that appear at Paris, there are numbers writ by smaller Authors in every Town of any note there ; and the Sermons that are all flights of flattery upon this subject, are such evident demonstrations of their sense of this matter ; that what is now on foot may be

be well termed the Act of the whole Clergy of France, which yet hath been hitherto esteemed the most moderate part of the Roman Communion. If any are more moderate than others; and have not so far laid off the humane nature as not to go in entirely into those bloody practises, yet they dare not own it, but whisper it in secret as if it were half Treason: but for the greater part, they do not only magnifie all that is done, but they animate even the Dragoons to higher degrees of rage: and there was such a heat spread over all the Country on this occasion, that one could not go into any Ordinary, or mix in any promiscuous Conversation, without finding such effects of it, that it was not easie for such as were toucht with the least degree of compassion for the miseries that the poor Protestants suffered, to be a witness to the Insultings that they must meet with in all places. Some perhaps imagine, that this hath not been approved in Italy; and it is true, there were not any publick rejoicings upon it at Rome; no Indulgences nor Te Deums were heard of: And the Spanish Faction being so prevalent there, it is not strange, if a course of proceedings that is without an example, was set forth by all that were of that interest, in its proper colours; of which I met with some instances my self, and could not but smile to see some of the Spanish Faction so far to forget their Courts of Inquisition, as to argue against the Conversions by the Dragoons, as a reproach to the Catholick Religion. Yet the Pope was of another mind, for the Duke d'Estrees gave him an account of the Kings proceedings in this matter very copiously, as he himself related it. Upon which the Pope approved all, and expressed a great satisfaction in every thing that the King had done in that matter; and the Pope added, that he found some Cardinals [as I remember the Duke d'Estrees said two] were not pleased with it, and had taken the liberty to censure it, but the Pope said they were to blame: The

Duke d'Estrées did not name the two Cardinals, tho he said he believed he knew who they were : and it is very likely that Cardinal Pio was one, for I was told he spoke freely enough of this matter. I must take the liberty to add one thing to you, that I do not see that the French King is to be so much blamed in this matter as his Religion is, which, without question, obligeth him to extirpate Hereticks, & not to keep his Faith to them; so that instead of censuring him, I must only lament his being bred up in a Religion that doth certainly oblige him to devest himself of Humanity, and to violate his Faith, whensoever the cause of his Church and Religion requireth it : Or if there is any thing in this conduct that cannot be entirely justified from the Principles of that Religion, it is this, that he doth not put the Hereticks to death out of hand, but that he forceth them, by all the extremities possible, to sign an abjuration, that all the World must needs see is done against their Consciences : and this being the only end of their miseries, those that would think any sort of death a happy conclusion of their sufferings, seeing no prospect of such a glorious issue out of their trouble, are prevailed on by the many lingring deaths of which they see no end, to make Shipwrack of the Faith : This appearance of mercy in not putting men to death, doth truly verifie the character that Solomon giveth of the tender mercies of the wicked, that they are cruel.

But I will stop here, tho it is not easie to retire from so copious a Subject, that as it affordeth so much matter, so upon many accounts raiseth a heat of thought that is not easily governed. I will now lead you to a Scene that giveth less Passion.

I past the Winter at Geneva, with more satisfaction than I had thought it was possible for me to have found any where out of England : tho that received great allays from the most lamentable stories that we had every day from France : but there is a sorow by which the



the heart is made better. I ought to make the most publick acknowledgements possible for the extraordinary Civilities that I met with in any one particular; but that is too low a Subject to entertain you with. That which pleased me most, was of a more publick nature; before I left Geneva, the numbers of the English were such, that I found we could make a Small Congregation, for we were twelve or fourteen: so I addressed my self to the Council of XXV. for liberty to have our own Worship in our own Language, according to the English Liturgy. This was immediately granted in so obliging a manner, that as there was not one person that made any exception to it, so they sent one of their body to me, to let me know that in case our number should grow to be so great, that it were fit for us to assemble in a Church, they would grant us one, which had been done in Queen Mary's Reign: but till then we might hold our Assemblies as we thought fit: So that after that time, during the rest of my stay there, we had every Sunday our devotions according to the Common Prayer Morning and Evening: and I Preached in a room that was indeed too large for our small company, but there being a considerable number in Geneva that understand English, and in particular, some of the Professors and Ministers, we had a great many strangers that met with us: and the last Sunday I gave the Sacrament according to the way of the Church of England, and upon this occasion I found a general joy in the Town, for this, that I had given them an opportunity of expressing the respect they had for our Church, and as in their publick prayers they always prayed for the Churches of Great Britain, as well as for their King, so in private discourse they shewed all possible esteem for our Constitutions, and they spoke of the unhappy divisions among us, and of the separation that was made from us, upon the account of our Government and Ceremonies with great regret,

and dislike. I shall name to you only two of their Professours, that as they are men of great distinction, so they were the persons with whom I conversed the most. The one is Mr. Turretin, a man of great learning, that by his indefatigable Study and Labour has much worn out and wasted his Strength : amidst all the affluence of a great plenty of Fortune to which he was born, one discerns in him all the modesty of an humble and mortified Temper, and of an active and fervent Charity, proportioned to his abundance, or rather beyond; and there is in him such a melting zeal for Religion, as the present conjuncture calls for, with all the seriousness of piety and devotion which shews it self both in private conversation and in his most Edifying Sermons, by which he enters deep into the consciences of his Hearers. The other is Mr. Tronchin, a man of a strong head, and of a clear and correct Judgement ; who has all his thoughts well digested : his conversation has an engaging charm in it that cannot be resisted. He is a man of extraordinary virtue, and of a readiness to oblige and serve all persons, that has scarce any measures. His Sermons have a Sublimity in them that strikes the Hearer, as well it edifies him. His thoughts are noble, and his Eloquence is Masculine and exact, and has all the Majesty of the chair in it, temper'd with all the softness of persuasion, so that he not only convinces his Hearers, but subdues them, and triumphs over them. In such company it was no wonder if time seemed to go off too fast, so that I left Geneva with a concern that I could not have felt in leaving any place out of the Isle of Britain.

From Geneva, I went a second time through Switzerland to Basil : at Avanche I saw the noble Fragments of a great Roman work, which seems to have been the Portico to some Temple : the heads of the pillars are about four foot square of the Ionick Order : The Temple hath been dedicated to Neptune, or some Sea God ;

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for on the fragments of the Architrave, which are very beautiful ; there are Dolphins and Sea-Horses in bas-reliefs ; and the neighbourhood of the place to the Lakes of Iverdun and Morat maketh this more evident ; there is also a Pillar standing up in its full height, or rather the corner of a building, in which one seeth the rest of a regular Architecture in two ranks of Pillars: If the ground near this were carefully searcht, no doubt it would discover more rests of that Fabrick. Not far from this is Morat ; and a little on this side of it is a Chappel, full of the bones of the Burgundians that were killed by the Switzers, when this place was besieg'd by the Famous Charles Duke of Burgundy, who lost a great Army before it, that was entirely cut off by the Besieged ; the inscription is very extraordinary, especially for that Age ; for the bones being so piled up, that the Chappel is quite filled with them : the Inscription bears, that Charles Duke of Burgundy's Army having besieged Morat, *Hoc sui Monumentum reliquit*, had left that Monument behind it. It cannot but seem strange to one that views Morat to imagine how it was possible for a Town so scituated, and so slightly fortified, to hold out against so powerful a Prince, and so great an Army, that brought Canon before it. I met with nothing remarkable between this and Basil, except that I staid some time at Bern, and knew it better ; and at this second time it was, that my Lord Advoyer d'Erlach gave order to shew me the Original Records of the process of the four Dominicans ; upon which I have retoucht the Letter that I writ to you last year, so I now send it to you with the enlargements this second stay gave me occasion to make.

Basile is a Town of the greatest extent of all Switzerland, but it is not inhabited in proportion to its extent. The Rhine maketh a crook before it : and the Town is scituated on a rising ground, which hath a noble effect on the eye, when one is on the bridge, for it

looketh like a Theatre. Little Basile on the other side of the Rhine, is almost a fourth part of the whole: the Town is surrounded with a Wall and Ditch, but it is so exposed on so many sides, and hath now so dreadful a neighbour within a quarter of a League of it, the Fort of Huningh, that it hath nothing to trust to, humanly speaking, but its Union with the other Cantons. The Maxims of this Canton have hindred its being better peopled then it is, the advantages of the Burgership are such, that the Citizens will not share them with strangers, and by this means they do not admit them. For I was told that during the last War, that Alsacia was so often the Seat of both Armies, Basile having then a neutrality, it might have been well filled, if it had not been for this maxim. And it were a great happiness to all the Cantons, if they could have different degrees of Burgership, so that the lower degrees might be given to strangers for their encouragement to come and live among them; and the higher degrees, which qualifie men for the advantageous employments of the State, might be reserved for the ancient Families of the Natives. Basile is divided into sixteen Companies, and every one of these hath four Members in the little Council, so that it consisteth of 64. But of those four, two are chosen by the Company it self, who are called the Masters, and the other two are chosen by the Council out of the Company; and thus are there two sorts of Counsellours, chosen in those different manners, there are also two chief Magistrates. There are two Burgermasters that Reign by turns, and two Zunt-Masters that have also their turns, and all is for Life: and the last are the Heads of the Companies, like the Roman Tribunes of the People. The Fabrick of the State-house is ancient; there is very good painting in Fresco upon the Walls: one piece hath given much offence to the Papists, tho they have no reason to blame the Reformation for it; since it was done  
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several years before it, in the year 1510. It is a representation of the day of Judgement, and after Sentence given, the Devil is represented driving many before him to Hell, and among these there is a Pope, and several Ecclesiasticks. But it is believed that the Council which sate so long in this place, acting so vigorously against the Pope, engaged the Town into such a hatred of Papacy, that this might give the rise to this Representation. The more learned in the Town ascribe the beginning of the custom in Basil, of the Clocks anticipating the time a full hour, to the sitting of the Council, and they say, that in order to the advancing of business, and the shortning their Sessions, they ordered their Clocks to be set forwards an hour, which continueth to this day. The Cathedral is a great old Gothick building; the Chamber where the Council sate, is of no great reception, and is a very ordinary Room: Erasmus's Tomb is only a plain Inscription upon a great Brass Plate: There are many of Holberne's Pictures here, who was a Native of Basile, and was recommended by Erasmus to King Henry the VIII. the two best are a Corpo, or Christ dead, which is certainly one of the best Pictures in the World: There is another piece of his in the Stadt-House, for this is in the publick Library, of about three or four foot square; in which, in six several Cantons, the several parts of our Saviours Passion are represented with a life and beauty that cannot be enough admired; it is valued at ten thousand Crowns; it is on wood, but hath that freshness of colour still on it, that seems peculiar to Holbern's Pencil. There is also a Dance that he painted on the walls of an house where he used to drink, that is so worn out, that very little is now to be seen, except shapes and postures: but these shew the exquisiteness of the hand. There is another longer Dance that runneth all along the Convent of the Augustinians, which is now the French Church, which is Deaths Dance; there are

are above threescore figures in it, at full length, of persons of all ranks, from Popes, Emperors and Kings, down to the meanest sort of People, and of all Ages and Professions, to whom Death appeared in an insolent and surprizing posture, and the several Passions that they express are so well set out, that this was certainly a great design. But the Fresco being exposed to the Air, this was so worn out some time ago, that they ordered the best Painter they had to law ndw colour on it, but this is so ill done, that one had rather see the dead shadows of Holborne's Pencil, than this coarse work: There is in Basile a Gun-Smith that maketh Wind Guns, and he shewed me one, that as it received at once Air for ten shot, so it had this peculiar to it, which he pretends is his own invention, that he can discharge all the Air that can be parcelled out at ten shot at once, to give a home blow. I confess those are terrible Instruments, and it seems the interest of mankind to forbid them quite, since they can be employed to assassinate persons so dexterously, that neither noise nor fire will discover from what hand the shot cometh. The Library of Basile is, by much the best in all Switzerland, there is a fine collection of Medals in it, and a very fine Library of Manuscripts; the Room is Noble, and disposed in a very good method. Their Manuscripts are chiefly the Latine Fathers, or Latine Translations of the Greek Fathers, some good Bibles, they have the Gospels in Greek Capitals, but they are viciously writ in many places: there is an infinite number of the Writers of the darker Ages, and there are Legends and Sermons without number. All the Books that were in the several Monasteries at the time of the Reformation, were carefully preserved; and they believe that the Bishops who sate here in the Council, brought with them a great many Manuscripts which they never carried away. Among their Manuscripts I saw four of Huss's Letters that he writ to the Bohemians the day before

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his dearth, which are very devout, but excessive simple. The Manuscripts of this Library are far more numerous than those of Bern, which were gathered by Bongarsius, and left by him to the publick Library there: they are indeed very little considered there, and are the worst kept that ever I saw; but it is a Noble Collection of all the ancient Latine Authors; they have some few of the best of the Roman times, writ in great Characters; and there many that are seven or eight hundred years old. There is in Basile one of the best collections of Medals that ever I saw in private hands; together with a noble Library, in which there are Manuscripts of good Antiquity that belongs to the Family of Fesch, and that goeth from one Learned man of the Family to another: for this Inheritance can only pass to a man of Learning; and when the Family produceth none, then it is to go to the publick. In Basile, as the several Companies have been more or less strict in admitting some to a Freedom in the Company, that have not been of the Trade, so they retain their priviledges to this day. For in such Companies that have once received such a number that have not been of the Trade, as grew to be the majority, the Trade hath never been able to recover her interest. But some Companies have been more cautious, and have never admitted any but those that were of the Trade, so that they retain their interest still in the Government. Of these the Butchers were named for one, so that there are always four Butchers in the Council: the great Council consisteth of two hundred and forty, but they have no power left them, and they are only assembled upon some extraordinary occasions, when the little Council thinketh fit to communicate any important matter to them. There are but six Balyages that belong to Bazile, which are not employments of great advantage; for the best of them doth afford to the Bailiff only a 1000 livres a year: They reckon that there are in Basile 3 thousand men

men that can bear Arms, and that they could raise four thousand more out of the Canton, so that the Town is almost the half of this State, and the whole maketh 30 Parishes. There are eighteen Professors in this University ; and there is a Spirit of a more free and generous Learning stirring there, then I saw in all those parts. There is a great decency of habit in Bazile, and the garb both of the Councillors, Ministers, and Professors, their stiff Ruffs, and their long Beards, have an Air that is August : The appointments are but small, for Councillors, Ministers and Professors have but a hundred Crowns a piece : It is true, many Ministers are Professors, so this mendeth the matter a little : But perhaps it would go better with the state of learning there, if they had but half the number of Professors, and if those were a little better encouraged. No where is the rule of St. Paul (of Womens having on their Heads the badge of the authority under which they are brought, which by a Phrase that is not extraordinary, he calleth Power) better observed then at Bazile ; for all the Married Women go to Church with a Coif on their heads, that is so folded, that as it cometh down so far as to cover their Eyes, so another folding covereth also their mouth and chin, so that nothing but the nose appears, and then all turn backwards in a folding that hangeth down to their mid-leg. This is always white, so that there is there such a sight of white heads in their Churches, as cannot be found any where else : The unmarried Women wear Hats turned up in the Brims before and behind : and the Brims of the sides being about a Foot broad, stand out far on both hands : This Fashion is also at Strasbourg, and is worn there also by married women.

I mentioned formerly the constant danger to which this place is exposed from the Neighbourhood of Hunningh. I was told that at first it was pretended that the French King intended to build only a small Fort there, and



and as it was believed that one of the Bürgermasters of Bazile, who was thought not only the wisest Man of that Canton, but of all Switzerland, was gained to lay all men asleep, and to assure them that the suffering this Fort to be built so near them, was of no importance to them, but now they see too late their fatal error: For the place is great, and will hold a Garrison of three or four thousand men; it is a Pentagon, only the side to the Rhine is so large, that if it went round on that side, I believe it must have been a Hexagone; the Bastions have all Orillons, and in the middle of them there is a void space, not filled up with Earth, where there is a Magazine built so thick in the Vault, that it is proof against Bombs; the ramparts are strongly fac'd, there is a large Ditch, & before the Cortine, in the middle of the ditch, there runs all along a Horn-work, which is but ten or twelve foot high; and from the bottom of the Rampart, there goeth a Vault to this Horn-work, that is for conveying of men for its defence: before this Horn-work there is a Half Moon, with this, that it is peculiar to those new Fortifications, that there is a ditch that cuts the Half Moon in an Angle, and maketh one Half Moon within another: beyond that there is a Counter-scarp about twelve foot high above the water, with a covered way, and a glacy design'd, tho not executed. There is also a great Horn-work besides all this, which runs out a huge way with its out-works towards Bazile; there is also a Bridge laid over the Rhine, and there being an Island in the River, where the bridge is laid, there is a Horn-work that filleth and fortieth it. The Buildings in this Fort are beautiful, and the square can hold above 4000 men; the works are not yet quite finished, but when all is compleated, this will be one of the strongest places in Europe: There is a Cavalier on one or two of the Bastions, and there are Half Moons before the Bastions, so that the Switzers see their danger now, when

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it is not easie to redress it. This place is scituated in a great Plain, so that is commanded by no rising ground on any side of it. I made a little tour into Alsace, as far as Mountbelliard; the Soil is extream rich, but it hath been so long a Frontier Country; and is, by consequence, so ill peopled, that it is in many places overgrown with Woods: In one respect it is fit to be the seat of War; for it is full of Iron-works, which bring a great deal of mony into the Country. I saw nothing peculiar in the Iron-works there (except that the sides of the great Bellows were not of Leather but of Wood, which saves much mony) so I will not stand to describe them. The River of the Rhine, all from Bazile to Spire, is so low, and is on both sides so covered with Woods, that one that cometh down in a Boat hath no sight of the Country: The River runneth sometimes with such a force, that nothing but such Woods could preserve its Banks, and even these are not able to save them quite, for the Trees are often washed away by the very Roots, so that in many places those Trees lye along in the Channel of the River: It hath been also thought a sort of a Fortification to both sides of the River, to have it thus faced with Woods, which maketh the passing of men dangerous, when they must march for some time after their passage through a *defilé*. The first night from Bazil we came to *Brisac*, which is a poor and miserable Town, but it is a noble Fortification, and hath on the West-side of the River, over which a Bridge is laid, a regular Fort of four or five Bastions. The Town of *Brisac* riseth all on a Hill, which is a considerable heighth; there were near it two Hills, the one is taken within the Fortification, and the other is so well levelled with the ground, that one cannot so much as find out where it was; All the ground about for many miles is plain; so that from the Hill, as from a Cavalier, one can see exactly well, especially with the help of a Prospect, all the motions of

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an Enemy in case of a Siege: The Fortification is of a huge compass, above a French League, indeed almost a German League; the Bastions are quite filled with Earth, they are faced with Brick, and have a huge broad Ditch full of Water around them; the Counter-scarp, the covered way, which hath a palisade within the Parapet, and the Glacy, are all well executed; there is a half Moon before every Cortine: the Bastions have no Orillons, except one or two, and the Cortines are so disposed, that a good part of them defendeth the Bastion. The Garrison of this place in time of War, must needs be eight or ten thousand men; there hath not been much done of late to this place, only the Ditch is so adjusted, that it is all defended by the flanks of the Bastions. But the noblest place on the Rhine is Strasburg: it is a Town of a huge extent, and hath a double Wall and Ditch all round it; the inner Wall is old, and of no strength; nor is the outward Wall very good, it hath a *faussebraye*, and is faced with Brick twelve or fifteen foot above the Ditch: the Counter-scarp is in an ill condition, so that the Town was not in case to make any long resistance; but it is now strongly fortified. There is a Citadel built on that side that goeth towards the Rhine, that is much such a Fort as that of Huningh; and on the side of the Citadel towards the Bridge, there is a great Horn-work that runs out a great way, with out-works belonging to it; there are also small Forts at the two chief gates that lead to Alsace; by which the City is so bridled, that these can cut off all its communication with the Country about, in case of a revolt; the Bridge is also well fortified: there are also Forts in some Islands in the Rhine, and some Redoubts; so that all round this place, there is one of the greatest Fortifications that is in Europe.

Hitherto the Capitulation with relation to Religion hath been well kept; and there is so small a number of new Converts, and these are for the greatest part so in-  
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considerable, they not being in all above two hundred as I was told, that if they do not imploy the new fashioned Missionaries *a la Dragonné*, the old ones are not like to have so great a harvest there as they promised themselves, tho they are Jesuites. The Lutherans for the greatest part, retain their animosities almost to an equal degree both against Papists and Calvinists. I was in their Church, where if the Musick of their Psalms pleased me much, the irreverence in singing, it being free to keep on or put off the Hat, did appear very strange to me: The Churches are full of Pictures, in which the chief passages of our Saviours life are represented: but there is no sort of religious respect paid them, they bow when they name the Holy Ghost, as well as at the name of Jesus: but they have not the Ceremonies that the Lutherans of Saxony use, which Mr. Bebel, their Professor of Divinity, said was a great happiness, for a similitude in outward rites might dispose the ignorant people to change too easily. I found several good people both of the Lutheran Ministers and others, acknowledge that there was such a corruption of morals spread over the whole City, that as they had justly drawn down on their heads the plague of the loss of their liberty, so this having toucht them so little, they had reason to look for severer strokes: One seeth in the ruine of this City, what a mischievous thing the popular pride of a free City is: they fancied they were able to defend themselves, and so they refused to let an Imperial Garrison come within their Town: for if they had received only five hundred men, as that small number would not have been able to have oppressd their Liberties, so it would have so secured the Town, that the French could not have besieged it, without making War on the Empire: but the Town thought this was a Diminution of their Freedom, and so chose rather to pay a Garrison of three thousand Soldiers, which as it exhausted their Revenue, and brought them under great Taxes, so it proved

proved too weak for their defence when the French Army came before them. The Town begins to sink in its Trade, notwithstanding the great circulation of money that the expence of the Fortifications hath brought to it, but when that is at an end, it will sink more sensibly, for it is impossible for a place of Trade, that is to have always eight or ten thousand Soldiers in it, to continue long in a flourishing State. There was a great animosity between two of the chief Families of the Town, Dietrick and Obrecht, the former was the Burgomaster, and was once almost run down by a Faction that the other had raised against him : but he turned the Tide, and got such an advantage against Obrecht, who had writ something against the conduct of their affairs, that he was condemned and beheaded for writing Libels against the Government. His Son is a Learned Man, and was Professor of the Civil Law ; and he to have his turn of revenge against Dietrick, went to Paris last Summer ; and that he might make his Court the better, changed his Religion. Dietrick had been always looked on as one of the chief of the French Faction, tho he had been at first an Imperialist, so it was thought that he should have been well rewarded ; yet it was expected that to make himself capable of that, he should have changed his Religion ; but he was an ancient man, and would not purchase his Court at that rate : so without any reason given, and against the exprefs words of the Capitulation, he was confined to one of the mid-land Provinces of France, as I remember it was Limosin ; and thus he that hath been thought the chief cause of this Towns falling under the power of the French, is the first man that hath felt the effects of it. The Library here is considerable. The Case is a great Room very well contrived ; for it is divided into Closets all over the body of the Room, which runs about these as a Gallery ; and in these Closets all round there are the  
 Books

Books of the several Professions lodged apart : there is one for Manuscripts, in which there are some of considerable Antiquity. I need say nothing to you of the vast height, and the Gothick Architecture of the Steeple and of the great Church, nor of the curious Clock, where there is so vast a variety of motions, for these are well known. The bas reliefs upon the tops of the great Pillars of the Church are not so visible, but they are surprizing ; for this being a Fabrick of three or four hundred years old, it is very strange to see such representations as are there. There is a Procession represented, in which a Hog carrieth the Pot with the Holy Water, and Asses and Hogs in Priestly Vestments follow to make up the Procession ; there is also an Ass standing before an Altar, as if he were going to Consecrate ; and one carrieth a Case with Reliques, within which one seeth a Fox ; and the trains of all that go in this Procession, are carried up by Monkies. This seems to have been made in hatred of the Monks, whom the Secular Clergy abhorred at that time ; because they had drawn the Wealth, and the following of the World after them ; and they had exposed the Secular Clergy so much for their ignorance, that it is probable, after some Ages, the Monks falling under the same contempt, the Secular Clergy took their turn in exposing them in so lasting a representation, to the scorn of the World. There is also in the Pulpit a Nun cut in Wood, lying along, and a Friar lying near her, with his Breviary open before him, and his hand under the Nuns habit ; and the Nuns feet are shod with Iron shoes. I confess I did not look for these things, for I had not heard of them ; but my Noble Friend Mr. Ablancourt, viewed them with great exactness while he was the French Kings Resident at Strasburg, in the company of one of the Magistrates that waited on him ; and it is upon his credit, which all that know his eminent sincerity, know how much is due, that I give you this particular.

From

From Strasburg we went down the Rhine to Philipsburg, which lieth at a quarter of a miles distance from the River; it is but a small place, the Bastions are but little: there is a Ravellin before almost all the Cortines; and there lye such Marishes all round it, that in these lieth the chief strength of the place. The French had begun a great Crown-work on the side that lieth to the Rhine, and had cast out a Horn-work beyond that; but by all that appears, it seems they intended to continue that Crown-work quite round the Town, and to make a second Wall and Ditch all round it; which would have enlarged the place vastly, and made a compass capable enough to lodge above ten thousand men: and this would have been so terrible a Neighbour to the Palatinate, and all Franconia, that it was a Master-piece in Charles Lewis, the late Elector Palatine, to engage the Empire into this Siege. He saw well how much it concerned him to have it out of the hands of the French; so that he took great care to have the Duke of Lorrain's Camp so well supplied with all things necessary during the Siege, that the Army lay not under the least uneasiness all the while. From thence, in three hours time we came to Spire, which is so naked a Town, that if it were attacked, it could not make the least resistance. The Town is neither great nor rich, and subsisteth chiefly by the Imperial Chamber that sitteth here, tho there is a constant dispute between the Town and the Chamber concerning Priviledges; for the Government of the Town pretends, that the Judges of the Chamber, as they are private men, and out of the Court of Judicature, are subject to them; and so about a year ago, they put one of the Judges in Prison: on the other hand, the Judges pretend, that their persons are Sacred. It was the consideration of the Chamber, that procured to the Town the Neutrality that they enjoyed all the last War. I thought to

to have seen the forms of this Court, and the way of laying up, and preserving their Records; but the Court was not then sitting. The Building, the Halls and Chambers of this Court are mean beyond imagination, and look liker the Halls of some small Company, then of so great a Body; and I could not see the places where they lay up their Archives: The Government of the City is all Lutheran; but not only the Cathedral is in the hands of the Bishop and Chapter, but there are likewise several Convents of both Sexes, and the Jesuites have also a Colledge there. There is little remarkable in the Cathedral, which is a huge building in the Gothick manner of the worst sort. The Tombs of many Emperours that lye buried there, are remarkable for their meanness; they being only great Flag-stones laid on some small Stone Ballisters of a Foot and half high: There are also the marks of a ridiculous Fable concerning St. Bernard, which is too foolish to be related, yet since they have taken such pains to preserve the remembrance of it, I shall venture to write it. There are from the Gate all along the Nef of the Church that goes up to the Steps that go up to the Quire, four round plates of Brass, above a foot Diameter, and at the distance of thirty foot one from another, laid in the pavement; on the first of these is ingraven, *O Clemens*; on the second, *O Pia*; on the third, *O Felix*; and on the fourth *Maria*: The last is about thirty foot distant from a Statue of the Virgins; so they say that St. Bernard came up the whole length of the Church at four steps; and that those four plates were laid where he stept: and that at every step he pronounced the word that is ingraven on the Plate; and when he came to the last, the Image of the Virgin answered him, *Salve Bernard*, upon which he answered, *Let a Woman keep silence in the Church*; and that the Virgins Statue has kept silence ever since; this last part of the Story is certainly  
very



very credible. He was a man of Learning that shewed me this; and he repeated it so gravely to me, that I saw he either believed it, or at least, that he had a mind to make me believe it; and I asked him as gravely, if that was firmly believed there; he told me that one had lately writ a Book to prove the truth of it, as I remember, it was a Jesuite; he acknowledged it was not an Article of Faith; so I was satisfied. There is in the Cloister an old Gothick representation of our Saviours agony in Stone, with a great many Figures of his Apostles, and the company that came to seize him, that is not ill Sculpture for the Age in which it was made; it being some Ages old. The Calvinists have a Church in this Town, but their numbers are not considerable: I was told there were some ancient Manuscripts in the Library that belongeth to the Cathedral: but one of the Prebendaries to whom I addressed my self, being, according to the *German* custom, a man of greater Quality than Learning, told me; he heard they had some ancient Manuscripts, but he knew nothing of it; and the Dean was absent, so I could not see them; for he kept one of the Keys. The lower Palatinate is certainly one of the sweetest Countries of all Germany: It is a great Plain till one cometh to the Hills of Heidelberg: the Town is ill scituated, just in a bottom between two ranges of Hills, yet the Air is much commended; I need say nothing of the Castle, nor the prodigious Wine Cellar; in which, though there is but one celebrated Tun that is seventeen foot high, and twenty six foot long, and is built with a strength liker that of the ribs of a Ship, then the Staves of a Tun; yet there are many other Tuns of such a prodigious bigness, that they would seem very extraordinary if this vast one did not Eclipse them. The late Prince Charles Lewis shewed his capacity in the peopling and settling this State, that had been so entirely ruined, being for  
many

many years the seat of War, for in four years time he brought it to a flourishing condition : He raised the Taxes as high as it was possible without dispeopling his Country, all Mens Estates were valued, and they were Taxed at five *per cent* of the value of their Estates ; but their Estates were not valued to the rigour, but with such abatements as have been ordinary in England in the times of Subsidies ; so that when his Son offered to bring the Taxes down to two *per cent* of the real value, the Subjects all desired him rather to continue them as they were. There is no Prince in Germany that is more absolute than the Elector Palatine, for he layeth on his Subjects what Taxes he pleaseth, without being limited to any forms of Government. And here I saw that which I had always believed to be true, that the Subjects of Germany are only bound to their particular Prince ; for they swear Allegiance simply to the Elector, without any reserve for the Emperor, and in their Prayers for him they name him their Sovereign. It is true, the Prince is under some ties to the Emperor, but the Subjects are under none. And by this D. Fabritius, a Learned and Judicious Professor there, explained those words of Pareus's Commentary on the Romans, which had respect only to the Princes of the Empire : and were quite misunderstood by those who fancied that they favoured Rebellion ; for there is no place in Europe where all rebellious Doctrine is more born down then there. I found a great spirit of moderation with relation to those small Controversies that have occasioned such heat in the Protestant Churches reigning in the University there, which is in a great measure owing to the prudence, the learning, and the happy temper of mind of D. Fabritius, and D. Mick ; who as they were long in England, so they have that generous largeness of Soul, which is the noble Ornament of many of the English Divines. Prince Charles Lewis

saw

saw that Manheim was marked out by nature to be the most important place of all his Territory, it being scituated in the point where the Neckar falleth into the Rhine; so that those two Rivers defending it on two sides, it was capable of a Good Fortification: It is true, the Air is not thought wholsom; and the water is not good, yet he made a fine Town there, and a Noble Cittadel, with a regular Fortification about it, and he designed a great Palace there, but he did not live to build it. He saw of what advantage liberty of Conscience was to the peopling of his Country, so as he suffered the Jews to come and settle there; he resolved also not only to suffer the three Religions tolerated by the Laws of the Empire to be professed there, but he built a Church for them all three, which he called the Church of Concord, in which both Calvinists, Lutherans, and Papists had, in the order in which I have set them down, the exercise of their Religion; and he maintained the peace of his Principality so entirely, that there was not the least disorder occasioned by this toleration: this indeed made him to be lookt on as a Prince that did not much consider Religion himself: He had a wonderful application to all affairs, and was not only his own chief Minister, but he alone did the work of many.

But I were unjust if I should not say somewhat to you of the Princely Virtues and the celebrated probity of the present Pr. Elector, upon whom that Dignity is devolv'd, by the extinction of so many Princes, that in this Age composed the most numerous Family of any of that rank in Europe. This Prince, as he is in many respects an honour to the Religion that he professes, so is in nothing more to be commended by those who differ from him, than for his exact adhering to the promises he made his Subjects with relation to their Religion, in which he has not even in the smallest matters broke in upon their establisht Laws, and tho an order of men that have turn'd the World

up side down, have great credit with him, yet he is hitherto visible that they cannot carry it so far, as to make him do any thing contrary to the established Religion, and so those sacred promises that he made his Subjects. For he makes it appear to all the world, that he does not consider those as so many words spoken at first to lay his People asleep, which he may now explain and observe as he thinks fit; but as so many ties upon his Conscience and Honor, which he will Religiously observe. And as in the other parts of this Life he has set a noble Pattern to all the Princes of Europe; so his exactness to his promises, is that which cannot be too much commended, of which this extraordinary Instance has been communicated to me since I am come into this Country. The Elector had a procession in his Court last Corpus Christi day, upon which one of the Ministers of Heidelberg preached a very severe Sermon against Popery, and in particular taxed that Procession, perhaps with greater plainness than discretion: This being brought to the Electors ears, he sent presently an order to the Ecclesiastical Senate to suspend him. That Court is composed of some secular men and some Church-men, and as the Princes authority is delegated to them, so they have sort of an Episcopal Jurisdiction over all the Clergy. This order was a surprize to them, as being a direct breach upon their Laws, and the liberty of their Religion; so they sent a Deputation to Court, to let the Elector know the Reasons that hindered them from obeying his orders, which were heard with so much lenity and gentleness, that their Prince, instead of expressing any displeasure against them, recalled the order that he had sent them. The way from Heidelberg to Frankfort, is, for the first twelve or fifteen miles, the beautifullest piece of ground that can be imagined; for we went under a ridge of little hills that are all covered with Vines, and from them, as far as the eye can go, there is a beautiful Plain of Corn and

the fields and Meadows, all sweetly divided and inclosed as to with rows of Trees, so that I fancied I was in Lombardy again, but with this advantage, that here all was made not of a piece, as it is in Lombardy : but the Hills, as world, they made a pleasant inequality in the prospect, so they made the Air purer, and produced a pleasant Wine : the way near Darmstat, and all forwards to Frankfort, so may becometh more wild and more sandy : There is a good suburb on the South-side of the main over against parts of Frankfort, which hath a very considerable Fortification ; there is a double Wall, and a double Ditch that is the both round it, and the outward Wall, as it is regular they fortified, so it is faced with Brick to a considerable height. The Town of Frankfort is of a great extent, or had seemed to be but a third part less than Strasburg : y, upon the three Religions are also tolerated there ; and tho' the number of the Papists is very inconsiderable, yet they have the great Church, which is a huge rude building ; they have also several other Churches, and several Convents there, There are several open squares, Market places, and the houses about them look well without. Among their Archives they preserve as the Original of the *Bulla Aurea*, which is only a great parchment writ in High Dutch, without any Beauty and Clergying to its Title : and since I could not have understood it, I was not at the pains of desiring to see it, for it is not obtained without difficulty. The Lutherans have here built a new Church, called St. Katherine's, in which there is as much painting as ever I saw in any Popish Church, and over the high Alter there is a huge carved Crucifix, as there are painted ones in the other places of their Church ; the Pulpit is extremely fine of Marble of different colours, very well polished and joined. I was here at Sermon, where I understood nothing, but I liked one thing that I saw both at Strasburg and here, that at the end of Prayers, there is, as was a considerable interval of silence left, before the Conclusion, for all peoples private devotions. In the

House of their publick Discipline, they retain still an old Roman Pistrina, or Hand-mill. at which lewd W-like men are condemned to grind, that is, to drive about the Wheel that maketh the Milstones go. There is a great number of Jews there, tho their Synagogues are very little, and by consequence the numbers being great, they are very nasty. I was told they were in above twelve hundred. The Women had the most a tawdry Imbroidery of Gold and Silver about them that ever I saw, for they had all Mantles of Crape, both about the top and the bottom there was a border above a hand breadth of imbroidery. The Fortification of Frankfort is considerable, their ditch is very broad and very full of water; all the Bastions have a Countermine that runneth along by the brim of the ditch, but the Counterscarp is not faced with Brick, as the Walls are, and so in many places it is in an ill condition; the covered way and glacé are also in an ill case: The Town is rich, and driveth a great Trade and is very pleasantly situated. Not far from hence is Hockam, that yieldeth the best Wine of those parts. Since I took Frankfort in my way from Heidelberg to Mentz, I could not pass by Worms, for which I was sorry. I had a great mind to see that place where Luther made his first Appearance before the Emperor, and the Diet, and in that sole Audience expressed an Undaunted Zeal for the Glorious Cause, in which God made him such a Blessed Instrument. I had another piece of curiosity on me, which will perhaps appear to you somewhat ridiculous. I had a mind to see a Picture, that, as was told, is over one of the Popish Altars there, which one would think was invented by the Enemies of Transubstantiation, to make it appear ridiculous. There is a Windmill, and the Virgin throws Christ into the Hopper, and he comes out at the Eye of the Mill in Wafers, which some Priests take up to give to the People. This is so coarse an Emblem, that one would think

think it too gross even for Laplanders, but a man that  
 can swallow Transubstantiation it self, will digest this  
 likewise. Mentz is very nobly situated, on a rising  
 ground a little below the conjunction of the two Ri-  
 vers, the Rhine and the Main; it is of too great a  
 compass, and too ill peopled to be capable of a great de-  
 fence: there is a Citadel upon the highest part of the  
 hill that commandeth the Town; it is compass'd about  
 with a dry ditch that is considerable deep: the Walls of  
 the Town are faced with brick, and regularly fortified;  
 but the Countersarp is not faced with Brick, so all is  
 in a sad condition; and the Fortification is weakest on  
 that side where the Electors Palace is. There is one  
 side of a new Palace very nobly built in a regular Ar-  
 chitecture, only the Germans do still retain somewhat  
 of the Gorchick manner. It is of a great length, and  
 the design is to build quite round the Court, and  
 then it will be a very magnificent Palace, only the  
 Stone is red; for all the Quarries that are upon  
 the Rhine, from Bazile down to Coblentz, are of  
 red Stone, which doth not look Beautiful. The  
 Elector of Mentz is an absolute Prince: his Subjects  
 present Lists of their Magistrates to him, but he is  
 not tyed to them, and may name whom he will:  
 The Ancient Demeasne of the Electorate is about  
 forty thousand Crowns: but the Taxes arise to about  
 three hundred thousand Crowns; so that the Subjects  
 there are as heavily taxed as in the Palatinate: There  
 is twelve thousand Crowns a year given to the Elector  
 for his privy Purse, and the State bears the rest of his  
 whole expence: It can Arm ten thousand men, and  
 there is a Garrison of two thousand men in Mentz:  
 this Elector hath three Councils, one as he is Chance-  
 lour of the Empire, consisting of three persons: the  
 other two are for the Policy and Justice of his Prin-  
 cipality. He and his Chapter have months by turns  
 for the nomination of the Prebends. In the month of  
 January he names, if any dyes, and they chuse in  
 the

the Room of such as dye in February, and so all the year round. The Prebendaries or Domeheers have about three thousand Crowns a year a piece. When the Elector dyeth, the Emperor sendeth one to see the Election made, and he recommendeth one, but the Cannons may chuse whom they please; and the present Elector was not of the Emperours commendation. Besides the Palace at Mentz, the Elector hath another near Frankfort, which is thought the best that is in those parts of Germany: The Cathedral is a huge Gothick Building; there is a great Cupulo in the West end, and there the Quire singeth Mass: I could not learn whether this was done only because the place here was of greater reception than at the East end, or if any burying place and endowment obliged them to the West end. Near the Cathedral there is a huge Chappel of great Antiquity; and on the North Door there are two great Brass Gates with a long Inscription, which I had not time to write out; but I found it was in the Emperor Lotharius's time. There are a vast number of Churches in this Town, but it is poor and ill inhabited, The Rhine here is almost half an English mile broad, and there is a Bridge of Boats laid over it. From Mentz all along to Baccharach (which seems to carry its name (*Bacchi Ara*) from some famous Altar that the Romans probably erected by reason of the good wine that grows in the neighborhood.) There is a great number of very considerable Villages on both sides the River: Here the Rats Tower is shewed, and the people of the Country do all firmly believe the story of the Rats eating up an Elector; and that tho he fled to this Island, where he built a small high Tower, they pursued him still, and swimmied after him, and eat him up; and they told that there were some of his bones to be seen still in the Tower. This extraordinary death makes me call to mind a very particular and unlooked for sort of death, that carried off a poor Labourer of the ground a few days before I left Geneva. The foot of



one of his Cartel, as he was ploughing, went into a nest of Wasps; upon which the whole Swarm came out, and set upon him that held the Plough, and killed him in a very little time; and his Body was prodigiously swelled with the poison of so many Stings. But to return to the Rhine, all the way from Baccharach down to Coblents, there is on both sides of the River hanging grounds, or little Hills, so laid, as if many of them had been laid by Art, which produce the rich Rhenish Wine: They are indeed as well exposed to the Sun, and covered from Storms, as can be imagined; and the ground on those Hills, which are in some places of a considerable height, is so cultivated, that there is not an inch lost that is capable of improvement; and this bringeth so much Wealth into the Country, that all along there is a great number of considerable Villages. Coblentz is the strongest place that I saw of all that belong to the Empire; the situation is noble, the Rhine running before it, and the Moselle passing along the side of the Town; it is well fortified, the Ditch is large, the Counterscarp is high, and the covered way is in a good condition; both Walls and Counterscarp is faced with Brick, and there are Ravelins before the Cortines; but on the side of the Moselle it is very slightly fortified, and there is no Fort at the end of the Stone Bridge that is laid over the Moselle, so that it lyeth quite open on that side, which seemeth a strange defect in a place of that consequence: But though the Fortifications of this place are very considerable, yet its chief defence lieth in the Fort of Hermanstan, which is built on the top of a very high Hill, that lyeth on the other side of the Rhine; and which commandeth this place so absolutely, that he who is Master of Hermanstan, is always Master of Coblentz. This belongeth to the Elector of Triers, whose Palace lieth on the East-side of the Rhine, just at the foot of the Hill of Hermanstan, and over against the point where the Moselle falleth into the

Rhine, so that nothing can be more pleasantly situated; only the ground begins to rise just at the back of the House with so much steepness, that there is not room for Gardens or Walks. The House maketh a great shew upon the River, but we were told, that the Apartments within were not answerable to the outside. I say we were told, for the German Princes keep such forms, that, without a great deal of ado, one cannot come within their Courts, unless it be when they are abroad themselves; so that we neither got within the Palace at Mentz, nor this of Hermanstan. It is but a few Hours from this to Bonne, where the Elector of Collen keepeth his Court; the place hath a regular Fortification, the Walls are faced with Brick; but tho the Ditch, which is dry, is pretty broad, the Counter-scarp is in so ill a condition, that it is not able to make a great defence. This Elector is the Noblest born, and the best provided of all the German Clergy; for he is Brother to the great Maximilian Duke of Bavaria; and besides Collen, he hath Liege, Munster, and Hildesheim, which are all great Bishopricks: He hath been also six and thirty years in the Electorate: His Palace is very mean, consisting but of one Court, the half of which is cast into a little Garden, and the Wood yard is in the very Court; the lower part of the Court was a Stable: but he hath made an apartment here that is all furnished with Pictures: where, as there are some of the hands of the greatest Masters, so there are a great many foils to set these off, that are scarce good enough for Signposts.

The Elector has a great many gold meddals, which will give me occasion to tell you one of the extravagantest pieces of Forgery that ever was; which hapned to be found out at the last Siege of Bonne: for while they were clearing the ground for planting a Battery, they discovered a Vault, in which there was an Iron Chest that was full of meddals of Gold, to the value of 100000 Crowns: and of which I was told, the Elector

bought:

bought to the value of 30000 Crowns. They are huge big, one weighed 800 Ducats; and the Gold was of the fineness of Ducat Gold: but tho they bore the Impressions of Roman Medals, or rather Medaillons, they were all Counterfeit; and the imitation was so coarsely done, that one must be extream ignorant in Medals to be deceived by them. Some few that seemed true were of the late Greek Emperors. Now it is very unaccountable what could induce a man to make a forgery upon such mettle, and in so vast a quantity, and then to bury all this under ground, especially in an Age in which so much Gold was ten times the value of what it is at present; for it is judged to have been done about four or five hundred years ago.

The Prince went out a hunting while we were there, with a very handsome Guard of about fourscore Horse, well mounted; so we saw the Palace, but were not suffered to see the Apartment where he lodged: There is a great Silver Casquette gilt, all set with Emeralds and Rubies, that tho they made a fine appearance, yet were a Composition of the Princes own making: His Officers also shewed us a Basin and Ewer, which they said, were of Mercury, fixed by the Prince himself; but they added, that now for many years he wrought no more in his Laboratory. I did not easily believe this; and as the weight of the Plate did not approach to that of Quick Silver, so the medicinal Virtues of fixed Mercury, if there is any such thing, are so extraordinary, that it seemed very strange to see twenty or thirty Pound of it made up in two pieces of Plate. A quarter of a mile without the Town, the best Garden of those parts of Germany is to be seen, in which there is a great variety of Water-works, & very many Noble Allies in the French manner, & the whole is of a very considerable extent; but as it hath no Statues of any value to adorn it, so the House about which it lieth, is in ruins: and it is strange to see, that so rich and so great a Prince, during so long a Regence, hath done so little to beautify

tific or enlarge his Buildings. Bonne and Coblenz are both poor and small Towns. Collen is three Hours distant from Bonne; it is of a prodigious extent, but ill built, and worse peopled in the remote parts of it: and as the Walls are in an ill case, so it is not possible to fortifie so vast a compass as this Town maketh, as it ought to be, without a charge that would eat out the whole Wealth of this little State. The Jews live in a little Suburb on the other side of the River, and may not come over without leave obtained, for which they pay considerably. There is no exercise of the Protestant Religion suffered within the Town; but those of that Religion are suffered to live there, and they have a Church at two miles distance. The Arsenal here, is suitable to the Fortifications, very mean, and ill furnished. The Quire of the great Church is as high as the Roof, as any Church I ever saw; but it seemeth the Wealth of this Place could not finish the whole Fabrick, so as to answer the height of the Quire, for the Body of the Church is very low: Those that are disposed to believe Legends, have enough here to overset even a good degree of credulity, both in the story of the three Kings, whose Chappel is visited with great Devotion, and standeth at the East end of the great Quire; and in that more copious Fable of the eleven thousand Ursulins, whose Church is all over full of rough Tombs, and of a vast number of Bones that are piled up in rows about the Walls of the Church: These Fables are so firmly believed by the Papists there, that the least sign which one giveth of doubting of their truth, passeth for an infallible mark of an Heretic. The Jesuites have here a great and noble Colledge and Church. And for Thauler's sake I went to the Dominicans House and Church, which is also very great. One grows extremely weary of walking over this great Town, and doth not find enough of entertainment in it: The present subject of their discourse is also melancholy: The late Rebellion that was there, is so generally

generally known, that I need not say much concerning it. A report was set about the Town by some Incendiaries, that the Magistrates did eat up the publick Revenue, and were like to ruine the City; I could not learn what ground there was for these reports, for it is not ordinary to see reports of that kind fly, through a body of men, without some foundation: It is certain this came to be so generally believed, that there was a horrible disorder occasioned by it: The Magistrates were glad to save themselves from the storm, and abandoned the Town to the popular fury, some of them having been made sacrifices to it, and this rage held long: But within this last year, after near two years disorder, those that were sent by the Emperor and Diet to judge the matter, having threatned to put the Town under the Imperial Bann, if it had stood longer out, were received; and have put the Magistrates again in the possession of their Authority, and all the chief Incendiaries were clapt in Prison: many have already suffered, and a great many more are still in Prison: they told us that some executions were to be made within a week when we were there. Dufeldorp is the first considerable Town below Collen, it is the Seat of the Duke of Juliers, who is Duke Newburgh, eldest Son to the present Elector Palatine. The Palace old and Gothick enough; But the Jesuites have there a fine Colledge, and a noble Chappel, tho there are manifest faults in the Architecture; the Protestant Religion is tolerated; and they have a Church lately built here within these few years, that was procured by the intercession of the Elector of Brandenburg, who observing exactly the liberty of Religion that was agreed to in Cleve, had reason to see the same as duly observed in his neighborhood, in favour of his own Religion. The Fortification here is very ordinary, the Ramparts here being faced but a few foot high with Brick. But Keiseriswart some hours lower on the same side, which belongeth to the Elector of Collen, tho

tho it is a much worse Town then Dufeldorp, yet is much better fortified ; it hath a very broad Ditch, and a very regular Fortification ; the Walls are considerably high, faced with Brick, and so is the Counterscarp, which is also in a very good condition. The Fortification of Orsoy is now quite demolished. Rhineberg continueth as it was, but the Fortification is very mean, only of Earth ; so that it is not capable of making a great resistance. And Wesel, tho it is a very fine Town, yet is a very poor Fortification ; nor can it ever be made good, except at a vast expence : for the ground all about it being sandy, nothing can be made there that will be durable, unless the foundation go very deep, or that it be laid upon Pilory. In all these Towns one sees another air of wealth and abundance then in much richer Countries that are exhausted with taxes. Rees and Emerick are good Towns, but the Fortifications are quite ruined. So that here is a rich and populous Country, that hath at present very little defence, except what it hath from its situation. Cleve is a delicious place, the situation and prospect are charming, and the Air is very pure, and from thence we came hither in three hours.

I will not say one word of the Country into which I am now come ; for as I know that is needless to you on many accounts, so a Picture that I see here in the Stadthouse, purs me in mind of the perfectest Book of its kind, that is perhaps in being ; for Sir William Temple, whose Picture hangeth here at the upper end of the Plenipotentiaries that negotiated the famous Treaty of Nimwegen, hath indeed set a pattern to the World, which is done with such life, that it may justly make others blush to copy after it ; since it must be acknowledged, that if we had as perfect an account of the other places, as he hath given us of one of the least, but yet one of the Noblest parcels of the Universe, Travelling would become a needless thing, unless it were for diversion ; since one findeth no further

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occasion for his curiosity in this Country, than what is fully satisfied by his rare performance. Yet I cannot give over writing, without reflecting on the resistance that this place made, when so many other places were so basely delivered up ; tho one doth not see in the ruines of the Fortifications here, how it could make so long a resistance : yet it was that that stem'd the tide of a progress that made all the World stand amazed, and it gave a little time to the Dutch to recover themselves out of the consternation into which so many blows, that came so thick one after another, had struck them.

But then the World saw a change, that tho it hath not had so much Incense given to it, as the happy conjuncture of another Prince hath drawn after it, with so much excess, that all the topicks of flattery seem exhausted by it, yet will appear to posterity one of the most surprizing Scenes in History ; and that which may be well matched with the recovery of the Roman State after the Battel of Canne. When a young Prince, that had never before born Arms, or so much as seen a Campagne, who had little or no Council about him but that which was suggested from his own thoughts, and that had no extraordinary advantage, by his Education either for literature or Affairs, was of a sudden set at the head of a State and Army, that was sunk with so many losses ; and that saw the best half of its Soil torn from it ; and the powerfullest Enemy in the World, surrounded with a Victorious Army, that was commanded by the best Generals that the Age hath produced, come within sight, and settle his Court in one of the best Towns, and had at the same time the greatest force both by Sea and Land, that hath been known, united together for its destruction : when the Inhabitants were forced, that they might save themselves from so formidable an Enemy, to let loose that which on all other occasions, is the most dreadful to them ; and to drown so great a part of their Soil for the preservation of the rest : and to complicate together

gether all the miseries that a Nation can dread, when to the general consternation with which so dismal a Scene possessed them, a distraction within doors seemed to threaten them with the last strokes; and while their Army was so ill disciplined, that they durst scarce promise themselves any thing from such feeble Troops, after a Peace at Land of almost thirty years continuance; and while their chief Ally, that was the most concerned in their preservation, was, like a great paralytick body, liker to fall on those that it pretended to support, and to crush them, than to give them any considerable assistance: When I say a young Prince came at the head of all this, the very prospect of which would have quite damp't an ordinary courage, he very quickly changed the Scene, he animated the publick Councils with a generous vigour: he found them sinking in a feebleness of hearkning to propositions for a peace, that were as little safe as they were honourable, but he disposed them to resolve on hazarding all, rather than to submit to such Infamous terms. His credit also among the Populacy seemed to inspire them with a new Life: they easily perswaded themselves, that as one WILLIAM Prince of ORANGE had formed their State, so here another of the same Name seemed marked out to recover and preserve it. It was this Spirit of Courage which he derived from his own breast, and infused into the whole People, as well as into the Magistrates that preserved this Country. Some thing there was in all this that was Divine. The publick Councils were again settled, and the people were at quiet when they saw him vested with a full Authority for that time with relation to peace and war, and concluded they were safe, because they were in his hands. It soon appeared how faithfully he pursued the interest of his Country, and how little he regarded his own. He rejected all Propositions of Peace that were hurtful to his Country, without so much as considering the advantages that were offered to himself



self, (in which you know I write upon sure grounds)  
 He refused the offer of the Sovereignty of its chief  
 City, that was made to him by a solemn Deputation,  
 being satisfied with that Authority which had been  
 so long maintained by his Ancestors with so much  
 Glory, and being justly sensible, how much the  
 breaking in upon established Laws and Liberties, is  
 fatal even to those that seem to get by it. He thus  
 began his publick appearance on the Stage, with all  
 the disadvantages that a Spirit aspiring to true Glo-  
 ry could wish for; since it was visible that he had  
 nothing to trust to, but a good cause, a favourable  
 Providence, and his own Integrity and courage:  
 nor was Success wanting to such Noble Beginnings;  
 for he in a short time, with a Conduct and Spirit  
 beyond any thing that the World hath yet seen,  
 recovered this State out of so desperate a Distemper,  
 took some places by main force, and obliged the  
 Enemy to abandon all that they had acquired in so fee-  
 ble a manner. And if a raw Army had not always  
 success against more numerous and better trained  
 Troops, and if the want of Magazines and Stores in  
 their Allies Country, which was the chief Scene of the  
 War, made that he could not post his Army, and  
 wait for favourable circumstances, so that he was some-  
 times forced to run to action, with a hast that his ne-  
 cessities imposed upon him; yet the forcing of the be-  
 ginnings of a Victory out of the hands of the greatest  
 General of the Age, the facing a great Monarch with  
 an Army much inferiour to his, when the other was  
 too cautious to hazard an engagement, and in short,  
 the forming the Dutch Army to such a pitch, that it be-  
 came visibly Superiour to the French, that seemed to  
 have been sed with Conquests: and the continuing  
 the War, till the Prince that had Sacrificed the  
 Quiet of Europe to his GLORY, was glad to come and  
 treat for Peace in the Enemies Country, and in this  
 very place, and to set all Engines on work to obtain  
 that,

that, by the mediation of some, and the jealousies of other Princes: all these are such performances, that posterity will be disposed to rank them rather among the Idea's of what an imaginary Hero could do, then with what could be really transacted in so short a time, and in such a manner. And in conclusion, every place that belonged to these States, and to their Neighbours along the Rhine, together with a great many in Flanders, being restored, these Provinces do now see themselves under his happy conduct, re-established in their former peace and security. And tho some scars of such deep wounds do still remain, yet they find themselves, considered on all hands, as the Bulwark of Christendom, against the fears of a new Monarchy, and as the preservers of the peace and liberty of Europe.

Here is a Harvest, not for forced Rhetorick, or false Eloquence, but for a Severe and Sincere Historian, capable of affording a work that will far exceed all those luscious Panegyrics of mercenary Pens: but a small or a counterfeit Jewel must be set with all possible advantages, when a true one of great value needs only to be shewed. I cannot end with a greater Subject, and I must acknowledge my self to be so inflamed with this hint, that as I cannot after this bring my Pen down to lower matters, so I dare not trust my self too long to the heat that so noble an Object inspires, therefore I break off abruptly.

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